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THE BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

THE House of Lords has struck for more work. It is indignant at its enforced leisure, and at the ridicule entailed on it by having nothing to do for four months, and by then being called on to pass a vast variety of Bills, under the dictation of the Commons, in the hot days of July. Lord SALISBURY, as a peer capable of doing real work and eager to do it, especially frets at having to stand thus idle in the legislative market-place because no man will hire him. He cannot find any consolation in being told, on the authority of the late Lord ABERDEEN, that the abuse of which he complains has lasted for at least fifty years. What he says, and says perfectly truly, is that he finds himself a member of a body which is called a legislative body, and which does nominally concur in a vast amount of annual legislation, but which has no real legislative power. The Lords, as he says, only sit to register the edicts of the Commons. Now, on any possible theory of the present uses of the House of Lords, this must be wrong. Supposing we adopt the Archbishop of York's theory, and say that the main function of the House of Lords is to scrutinize the measures of the Commons, still the Lords ought to have time and opportunity given them sufficient to make the scrutiny effective. But when all the legislation of a Session is sent up to them in a mass, they cannot exercise any scrutiny which is at all worthy of the name. They must take the Bills as they find them, or render the labours of the Commons altogether nugatory. Rather than do this, they pass Act after Act the operation of which is wholly uncertain, and the clauses of which are totally unintelligible. The next year sees Bills for amending the Acts of the year before, and the next year Bills to amend the amended Acts; and so English legislation goes on continually being built up with the least method and skill ever shown in the legislation of any civilized country. From much of this chaotic confusion in Acts of Parliament the Lords would be perfectly able to rescue the country if only the chance were given them. But it is not practically recognised that their business is to scrutinize the measures of the Commons. In real life the Lords are expected, not to improve the measures of the Commons, but to pass them as they stand. The only function accorded them is a sham legislative function. Naturally they resent so humiliating a position being thrust on them; but what are they to do? Every now and then they threaten that they will not pass Bills sent up to them by the Commons after a certain day, and Lord SALISBURY indulges in the hope that he will be able to keep them firm in their resolution this year if they will join with him in saying that the Peers, rather than pass Bills which they are not permitted to discuss, will reject them. This has been tried, but has hitherto been tried in vain. When the pinch comes, the Lords give way. They will not stay in London, to fight the Government day after day, after the season is over. They shrink from the odium of having it said that, from mere pique and from jealousy of their privileges, they are bent on depriving the country of legislation that it needs. By a bold effort a resolute, energetic man like Lord SALISBURY might during one year perhaps succeed in whipping up an opposition in the Lords that would reject a large batch of Bills because they had come up from the Commons a day later than the time which, in the exercise of a purely arbitrary discretion, the Lords had chosen to say was the limit within which they must come up. But it is obvious that this could not be repeated. The House of Commons would next year send up its Bills too late, and the Government of the day would make every exertion to get the Lords to yield. And the Government of the day would be sure to win sooner or later. As Lord SALISBURY confessed, it was not a party question, and a Conservative Government would work just as hard as a Liberal Government to induce the Lords not to render the legislation of the Commons fruitless. When once the Lords

had yielded to the entreaties of a Conservative Government, the precedent would be established, and a Liberal Government would claim to be treated on an equal footing. Some years ago a resolution not to proceed with Bills sent up after a certain date was adopted in the most formal manner by the House of Lords. But the proviso was added, that Bills sent up after that date might be proceeded with if of great importance. The Bill establishing Partnerships with Limited Liability was sent up too late, and the Government of the day moved that it was a Bill so important that it ought to be proceeded with. It was exactly the kind of Bill that the Lords were entitled and competent to discuss fully and fairly, but they were cut out of all effectual discussion of it by a resolution stating that it was an important Bill, and it passed into law with the merely nominal assent of the Peers.

The difficulty which lies at the bottom of the whole question of the proper functions of the House of Lords is far too deep and wide to be met by resolutions of the Peers not to do this or that except at their own time and on their own conditions. This difficulty is, that legislation is not now the enactment of measures which wise men think the best for the nation, but the enactment of measures which the nation, through its representatives, wishes to pass. All legislation implies change, and the instruments of legislation will vary according as the motive power of change resides in one set of persons or in another. The Lords may possibly represent some classes in England, but they do not represent the classes in which the motive power of change resides. They are thus necessarily cut out of the sphere of legislation, and every day their exclusion becomes more complete. Theoretically it seems as if the Cabinet would do wisely to bring some of its measures forward in the Lords, and some in the Commons, but each measure in turn seems important when the leaders of the Ministry examine it; and, if it is important, it is important because some considerable section of the classes in whom the motive power of change resides wishes for it and needs it. But if people care about it, they naturally wish their own representatives to discuss, modify, and improve it, on their behalf; and so each measure in turn seems as if it must go to the Commons first. Lord GRANVILLE himself said that he was taken by surprise at hearing that no Government measure was to be introduced in the Lords; he had quite hoped for two at least to be allotted to the Upper House. He promised to do his best to get some work for the Lords to do, and he has been partially successful. The Lords are to have two Government measures to discuss at once, the Scotch Education Bill and the Bill for the Repression of Crime. The Law Lords pleaded hard for having the Bankruptcy Bill also brought back to them. It is, in a sense, the Bill of the Lords, for the Upper House has for some time worked very hard at Bankruptcy Bills, and it might be thought that in a Bill dealing with a very wide and complex branch of law, the professional skill of the Law Lords might be most advantageously utilized. But the CHANCELLOR, who was inclined at first to think that the Bankruptcy Bill should begin in the Lords, says now that this cannot be. In spite of all complaints from his legal friends among the Peers, he adheres to his resolution. His reason is most significant. The Bankruptcy Bill necessarily interests the great centres of trade and manufacture, and the large towns all wish the Bill to begin in the Commons. They are not satisfied with having a Bill drawn by competent and skilful persons like the Law Lords and the more intelligent Peers; they want their own men, the men who represent them, the men they have sent to Parliament, to have the moulding and handling of the Bill. The Peers say that the object might be effected equally well by having the views of the leading persons in large trading towns communicated to the Lords by deputations, petitions, and so forth. This brings us to the root of the matter. The commercial towns are not

satisfied with submitting views to mere non-traders. They want their fellow-traders, whom they have elected, and who know exactly where the shoe pinches, to have a say in the making of an Act which will affect them every day of their lives in a hundred different ways.

As they could not resist the appeal of Lord GRANVILLE, and naturally did not wish to wound the feelings of the Peers on the eve of a renewal of the contest about the Irish Church, the Government decided to hand over two Bills to the Lords, and the two which they thought might best be handed over to them were the Bill for the Repression of Crime and the Bill for Regulating Education in Scotland. The only reason for choosing these two must have been that the objections to giving them up to the Lords were rather slighter than the objections to transferring any other of the Government measures from the Commons. But the objection to letting these Bills begin in the Lords, and especially to letting the Scotch Education Bill begin in the Lords, are very considerable. The legislation of the House of Lords on Scotch Education must almost inevitably be a piece of sham legislation. A Scotch Education Bill, to be acceptable to the Scotch people, must be a very liberal measure. It must take that side in educational matters which is warmly opposed by the majority of both our old Universities, by four Bishops out of five, by the vast majority of the English clergy, and by the bulk of the Conservative party. The Bill introduced by the Duke of ARGYLL virtually applies compulsory rating in aid of secular education. This Bill has been introduced into an assembly composed mainly of English Bishops, English University Conservatives, and Scotch Peers, who not only do not represent the political opinions of Scotland, but are elected for the precise reason that they hold the views of the large landowners, not those of the Scotch people. If such an assembly were possessed of real legislative power, if it could do what it pleased with the Scotch Education Bill, it would make mincemeat of it. It would either reject it at once, or would cut it up and mend it and patch it until it had quite changed its nature. That this will happen is not likely, because the House of Lords will scarcely venture to assume legislative power with regard to such a Bill. It will think that Scotland ought to please itself about such a measure. English Bishops will hardly like to legislate adversely to the wishes of a Presbyterian society. Nor will the House of Lords wish to begin its business by stifling at the outset one of the two little Bills it has got hold of with so much trouble. It will therefore, perhaps, adopt the Government measure without much alteration. But this is only registering an edict of the House of Commons beforehand instead of afterwards. The Lords will but declare that they are prepared to assent to what they understand would please the Scotch members in the House of Commons. This is not legislation in the sense in which the House of Commons legislates. It is only such an arrangement of sham legislation as seems to keep up a little the dignity of the Peers. When we enter on so difficult an investigation as that of ascertaining the true function of the House of Lords in modern England, we necessarily begin by clearing the ground and discovering the direction in which efforts to give new activity to the Peers will be futile. It is not without regret that we are forced to the conclusion that the Peers cannot emerge out of their present false position, either by any resolution not to proceed with business sent up after a certain date, or by getting one or two minor Government Bills entrusted to them at the beginning of the Session.

SPAIN.

THE Constituent Cortes seem to have commenced their functions with moderation and prudence. The Republican minority, conscious of its weakness in the Assembly, was compelled to console itself by protestations that the Provisional Government had interfered with the freedom of election. A party never appeals to the alleged opinion of the people until it despairs of Parliamentary success. It is useless to argue that the Cortes are incompetent to determine the questions which have been formally referred to their decision, for there is no other visible authority to compete with them as long as they act in harmony with the Executive Government. It is highly probable that the Ministers have exercised an influence which would be considered undue in England, but the constitutional traditions of the Continent are less intolerant of official dictation. One of the Ministers aptly replied to a charge of bribery by the remark that the Republicans had in some districts offered a gigantic bribe, in the form of a repartition of private property. It is wrong perhaps to purchase a vote, but the offence is considerably aggravated if

the means of corruption are provided by a preliminary process of spoliation. A further objection to the actual constitution of the Cortes is founded on the exclusion from the suffrage of all persons under twenty-five years of age; and the Republicans naturally assert, with more or less truth, that the youth of Spain shares their opinions. A sweeping measure of disfranchisement, in the form of a decree issued by the Government, may perhaps appear to be anomalous; but Marshal SERRANO and his colleagues had no better legal right to grant universal suffrage in name than to limit its operation by exceptions. A qualification founded on age is less invidious than any other mode of diminishing the danger of a promiscuous franchise, and probably the limitation has not injuriously affected the wisdom and calmness of the constituencies. Even if it is true that the younger generation of Spaniards is Republican, there is no reason to believe that experience will fail to produce the wholesome scepticism which ordinarily comes with advancing years. ARISTOTLE, if he is correctly quoted by HECTOR in *Troilus and Cressida*, thought young men unfit to attend lectures in moral philosophy. It is still more undesirable that they should teach their elders either theory or practice. If the Spaniards who have not yet reached twenty-five retain their Republican opinions a few years hence, they will have abundant opportunities of testing their philosophy by experiment.

The moderate majority of the Cortes has resolved to prolong, with a formal alteration, the power of the Provisional Government. Marshal SERRANO is to hold a position corresponding in some respects to the old English title of Protector, but with more limited powers. Some years ago ESPARTERO occupied a similar rank, under the name of Regent; but a Regency implies the existence of a King. The Cortes retains to itself the right of revoking the powers which it has conferred; and, while the temporary arrangement lasts, Spain may be regarded as a Republic under an Assembly exercising supreme power, both legislative and executive. The Republican party in the French Constituent Assembly of 1848 wished to make a similar system permanent, and their foresight was justified by the subsequent conduct of a President who derived his title directly from the people. The English Constitution has within fifty or sixty years placed the Executive authority in the hands of a Minister who is virtually appointed and dismissed by the House of Commons. If SERRANO were a Parliamentary leader instead of a military chief, he would resemble a First Lord of the Treasury without a titular Sovereign above him. He probably owes his appointment in some degree to a mediocrity which furnishes no cause of alarm either to his colleagues or to the Cortes. It is understood that PRIM cordially approves of a selection which will leave him substantial power without unnecessarily ostensible responsibility. The most solid and real authority in Spain will long be inseparable from the command of the army; and PRIM has apparently satisfied himself that SERRANO will content himself with a nominally higher post. The arrangement which the Cortes is prepared to adopt will moderate any impatience which either Marshal may have entertained for the definitive settlement of the Constitution. The Duke of MONTPENSIER or King FERDINAND might possibly ascend the throne with the most cordial feelings to the chief promoters of their elevation; but a King could not afford to employ an independent Minister, and he would with still stronger reason be jealous of a permanent Commander-in-Chief. As long as the name of a Republic is avoided, a Government without a King will not be associated in the popular mind with subversive social doctrines. Time will show whether PRIM has a secure hold on the affections of the army, which still retains the same ultimate power which it possessed under O'DONNELL and NARVAEZ.

The Cortes, having apparently adjourned the choice of a King, are about to employ themselves on the questionable task of establishing a Constitution. In the present temper of the nation, it seems not improbable that religious liberty will be affirmed in principle, even if it is found necessary in practical administration to humour the prejudices of the people. In other respects there is little for the Cortes to do in the way of organic legislation. Many previous Constitutions include the most enlightened novelties of modern Liberalism, as they have been propounded by the authors of successive revolutions. No country has for a generation enjoyed larger verbal franchises than Spain, although, unluckily, the Ministers, the satellites of the Court, and, above all, the chiefs of the army, have governed according to their respective interests and inclinations. The majority of the Cortes, which three or four years ago was arrested for presenting a

loyal address to the QUEEN, possessed privileges not less ample than those which are claimed by the House of Commons. The political difference between the two countries consists not so much in their Constitutions or their laws as in the national modes of thought. The Constituent Cortes may perhaps do some good by reaffirming truisms which have been hitherto systematically accepted and disregarded. The late revolution affords a proof that Spaniards are not content with the anomalous system which has long prevailed. After a time it will perhaps be understood, in Spain as in England, that interference with the personal liberty of the most obnoxious politician is a grave offence against the community. The Provisional Government was probably unconscious of committing an illegal or irregular act when the assassins of Burgos were tried by court-martial for a crime committed while all the regular tribunals were in full exercise of their jurisdiction. The equality of all citizens before the law implies that the law itself is not to be suspended or superseded at the pleasure of civil or military authorities.

Marshal PRIM has announced his irrevocable objection to the choice of the Prince of ASTURIAS as King; and SERRANO is still thought to be favourable to the candidature of the Duke of MONTPENSIER. Some ingenious partisan of King FERDINAND has devised the fable that the English Government has formally protested against the contingent union of the whole Peninsula into a single kingdom. The opponents of the Portuguese candidate will probably make a counter-appeal to Spanish jealousy by dwelling on the fact that King FERDINAND is a Prince of the House of COBURG, and a cousin of the King of the BELGIANS and of the future King of ENGLAND. The same ground of alarm was suggested three-and-twenty years ago by M. GUIZOT in the course of his intrigue for the eventual succession of the Duke of MONTPENSIER to the Spanish throne. It was then alleged that the pretender supported by England was a COBURG, and that the interests of France would be gravely compromised by the choice. Well-informed Spaniards must be well aware that England has neither the wish nor the power to interfere with their free disposition of the Crown. For the present the Duke of AOSTA appears to have been forgotten.

On one question all parties in Spain are for the moment united. Liberals and Catholics, Progressionists and Republicans, are equally determined to retain the cherished sovereignty of Cuba. It is not for Englishmen to criticize too harshly a sentiment which exactly reproduces the feeling of their ancestors during the American rebellion. In spite of the indignant protests of the Opposition, and notwithstanding the scandalous mismanagement of the war, the English people, from first to last, cordially shared the resolution of the KING to resent to the utmost the dismemberment of the Empire. The Spaniards of the present day have probably been guilty of graver errors in the administration of Cuba, but they are as patriotic and as proud as the English of a hundred years ago. The malcontents of Cuba naturally seized the opportunity of a revolution in Spain to commence the insurrection which they had long been meditating; but their offence is aggravated, in the judgment of the mother-country, by their selection of a time when popular enthusiasm anticipated the abolition of all domestic and colonial grievances. Some of the planters who have favoured the rebellion may perhaps have been alarmed by the partial agitation against slavery which followed the outbreak of the revolution in the last autumn; but the Provisional Government hinted only at gradual abolition; and in a matter which excites but a lukewarm interest in Spain, the colonists would ultimately have been allowed to determine their own policy. It has never been satisfactorily explained whether the insurrection is favourable or hostile to the liberation of the slaves. In some districts the rebel chiefs have proclaimed freedom to the slaves of loyal proprietors, but they have not yet adopted or avowed any systematic purpose of emancipation. Their principal grievance consists in the alleged preference by the Government of Spanish settlers and functionaries to the native Creoles. The Colonial Office of Spain has never copied the modern English practice of allowing distant dependencies to manage their own affairs, and the local Government of Cuba is administered by strangers, who are generally believed to profit largely by their residence in the island. The injury or affront seems exclusively to affect the higher class of the Cuban population; but there is nothing surprising in the sympathy which the general population apparently feels for their cause. As it appears that the Americans have no intention of interfering on behalf of the insurgents, General DULCE will, with the aid of the reinforcements lately despatched from Spain, almost certainly suppress the rebellion, if he has not already accomplished the task. The vast spaces which were a sufficient defence of the North Ame-

rican colonies are not to be found in Cuba, nor can any intelligent colonist believe that the island can become an independent State. The Spanish army is brave and well disciplined, and the fleet will command every port in Cuba. The struggle may perhaps tend to unite contending parties in Spain, although it will embarrass the administration of the finances.

THE RATES ON WEEKLY TENEMENTS.

A GRIEVANCE which Mr. GLADSTONE promised on the hustings to make an effort to redress as soon as he came into power, and which especially hurts the feelings and vexes the constituents of Mr. BRIGHT, could not be expected to lie long dormant without the attention of the new House of Commons being called to it. The tenants of small cottages at weekly rents were seriously inconvenienced by the Reform Bill of 1867, even after the abolition of the famous Compound Householder had done something to make their position better than that which was originally offered them under the Ministerial scheme. Their real grievance was that the personal payment of rates was inserted almost by accident, as a device for making the Conservative party think that some sort of check still remained after they had abandoned all the principles on which they had opposed a Reform Bill. It was most inconvenient and annoying to these poor people that they should have the great nuisance and trouble of themselves paying their rates, which their landlord was quite willing to pay for them. The nuisance was inflicted on them for no end whatever except to make the Conservative party a little more comfortable for a moment. Long before the Act came into operation the Conservative party ceased to care for rate-paying checks, and went in for the magnificent illusion of a great Conservative residuum. But the annoyance to the weekly tenants, devised to please the Conservatives, remained, and an Act of Parliament provided how it should be inflicted. Even now the mischief cannot be directly repaired. It would be casting a sort of open slight on the Conservative party to repeal the ratepaying clauses of the Reform Bill. In England, long after political parties have ceased to care about measures effect or inoperative, the measures often remain unrepealed because it would wound the vanity or harass the feelings of some set or class of people to have them distinctly abrogated. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill has been a dead letter since it was passed, but hitherto it has been found impossible to repeal it, because the people who passed it are still powerful, and do not like to confess in plain terms that they were led away by a silly panic. The present Ministry, therefore, have very wisely refrained from proposing that tenants and landlords shall please themselves as to who shall pay the rates, and that the arrangement shall be totally disconnected from the question whether the tenant is to vote; but they want to put the tenant in a comfortable position, and practically to get rid of the nuisance devised for his torture, without seeming to win an evident political triumph. This is a very roundabout, unbusinesslike way of accomplishing a very simple end. But in Parliamentary government such concessions and compromises are necessary; and, if the Ministry can but get a Bill through Parliament which will make the tenants easy without raking up the old jealousies and animosities of the Reform Bill, they will have gained a practical end which, under the circumstances, is probably the best they could achieve.

The astonishing things that may be said and accepted in Parliament when both sides are willing to repeal an Act provided that it is done for courtesy's sake in a roundabout way, were strikingly illustrated on Thursday night when Mr. GOSCHEN introduced the Government measure. The real drift of the measure is to make the landlord pay the rates for the tenant, and Mr. GOSCHEN hazarded the proposition that this fully carried out the principle of the Act of 1867. This principle he boldly declared to be that the rates should be paid by some one, but that it was quite immaterial by whom they were paid. Conservative members whose memories could take them back two years must have smiled at this audacious account of the principle which they then treated as one of life and death. They must have thought of the long hours during which it was unfolded to them by their leaders that the great discovery had been made of one grand abiding Conservative principle which would make any Reform Bill safe, however otherwise democratic. This grand principle was the personal payment of rates by the tenant. The sordid, unfeeling, spiritless outcast who would not go through this amount of trouble in order to exercise the noble privilege of voting was depicted in the blackest colours, while the patriotic tenant saving up his halfpence until the day when he proudly paid

the tax-gatherer, and thus bought his right to go to the hustings as an elector, was held up to the justest and the warmest admiration. Here was an infallible test by which for all time the sheep might be divided off from the goats. The sheep whom Conservatives might trust would alone vote, while the naughty goats who hated the bore of personal payment, and whom Conservatives most properly despised and distrusted, should never aid in Americanizing our institutions. And now Conservatives have lived to hear that the rate-paying clauses were never meant to have any political effect, but were solely devised in the interest of the overseer. Their principle was that the rates should be promptly and punctually paid by somebody; but the overseer cannot care by whom they are paid, and so it makes no difference whether one person pays them or another—whether the tenant bores himself by saving up his halfpence and fronting the tax-gatherer like a man, or whether he prefers shifting all the trouble and responsibility on to his landlord. Mr. GOSCHEN felt keenly the humour of his assertion that this was really what the Conservatives meant, and added that, at any rate, the residential qualification remained. In other words, he reminded the Conservatives that if the test on which they relied was really taken altogether away, the test on which the Liberals relied, and which the Conservatives pronounced wholly insufficient, would still be maintained. But he knew he was on safe ground, for he was able to inform the House that the late Government had been scared by the amount of nuisance which their measure had inflicted. Summonses by thousands on thousands were issued against the occupiers of weekly tenements for taxes which had previously been paid by the landlord, and these summonses could not be enforced on account of their number, and the taxes could not be collected from the tenants. There were no less than twenty-five thousand summonses issued in Birmingham, and when so many lambs shepherded by Mr. BRIGHT were annoyed, it was certain that their shepherd would have a word of advice to give to any Ministry that might be in office. Accordingly the Conservative Government instructed their officials that there was no reason why the landlord should not pay the rates, and be looked on as the agent of the tenant. This was very sensible, but it entirely destroyed the famous test of personal payment; and the parochial authorities not only obeyed their instructions, but of their own mere motion restored the dead Compound Householder. They took upon themselves to lower the assessment on houses when the landlord paid the rates, thus offering the very bonus and inducement to the landlords on which the scheme of creating the Compound Householder rested. Mr. GOSCHEN found that the Conservative Government and the overseers had between them virtually repealed the rate-paying clauses of the Reform Act, and all he had to do was to carry out what had been done, but to carry it out in a rather more methodical and systematic way.

The landlord, when he pays the tenant's rates, is accepted as the agent of the tenant. The tenant is held to pay personally for all electoral purposes when he does not pay personally but some one else pays for him. If the landlord consents to pay the rates, the tenant gets his vote quite comfortably, and the rate-paying clauses of the Reform Bill are, for him, non-existent. What the tenant wants is therefore a scheme by which the landlord shall be induced to pay the rates. Under the system of Compound Householders this was done by giving the landlord a bonus. He paid less than the tenant would have paid, but he got back, in the shape of rent, or at least had an opportunity, which he seldom neglected, of getting back the full rate from the tenant. Where this system prevailed it was equally acceptable to the landlord and the tenant, and there were bitter complaints made in 1867 that a useful and convenient social arrangement had been wantonly set aside in order to attain a useless political object. The system of Compound Householders might have been restored by Mr. GOSCHEN, just as it had been virtually restored by the Conservative Government and the overseers. But there were two objections. To have restored the Compound Householder might have been regarded as a sort of open triumph over the Conservative party; and then—which was a more serious objection—the system of Compound Householders had never been universal, and it was a mere matter of accident whether it happened or did not happen to prevail in any Parliamentary borough. Mr. GOSCHEN, therefore, set himself to devise a means of enabling the landlord to act as agent of the tenant, which would operate everywhere. He proposes to secure this end by an enactment which is seemingly simple. His Bill provides that if the tenant pays the rates he may deduct what

he pays from the accruing rent due to the landlord. The rate is thus treated as primarily payable by the landlord, and if the tenant is made to pay it, he will at once stop it out of his rent. But this is not all. The tenant might, under the present system, find it very difficult to pay the rate, because the rate for a year or a half-year is levied all at once, and it is levied in advance, so that a tenant might be called on to pay a year's rate and then be turned out of his holding, and have no means of getting it back out of his rent. Mr. GOSCHEN meets the difficulty by providing that no more than a fortnight's rate shall ever be levied at once. The tenant can never, therefore, have more than a very small sum to pay at once, and he is certain of getting back what he pays. The landlord will thus be under a very strong inducement to pay the rate himself. He must pay it sooner or later, and he must pay it within a fortnight after the tenant has paid it. He has, therefore, to choose between paying it himself, and avoiding all dispute and trouble, and having it stopped out of the rent. Obviously it will be much more convenient to settle the rate directly with the overseer, rather than go through the trouble and annoyance of seeing whether this or that tenant is entitled to withhold a few halfpence out of his weekly rent. The device would probably be efficacious, but it is not impossible that the House of Commons may prefer some system even more simple and direct. When once the landlord is taken to be the agent of the tenant, and the payment is treated as one that the landlord is legally compelled to make, the whole scheme of testing electoral qualifications by personal payment on the part of the tenant is so completely cut away that it is hardly any use going through the farce of pretending that the rate-paying clauses of the Reform Bill are preserved; and the Conservative party may perhaps be willing to yield to the opinion of the House of Commons, while they would have resented a direct proposal if made by their political opponents.

THE ALABAMA TREATY.

ALTHOUGH the Foreign Affairs Committee of the American Senate has, as it appears, not yet reported, the rejection of the *Alabama* Convention may be regarded as inevitable; for the sanguine Minister who has on all former occasions asserted that the dispute was settled, admitted at Manchester that the ratification of the Senate would probably be withheld. The Democrats will agree with the Republicans in the determination to keep the quarrel open, for the dominant party has plagiarized from its opponents the tradition of hostility to England. When the Senate a few months ago unanimously ratified the appointment of Mr. REVERDY JOHNSON as Minister to England, it was distinctly understood by himself, and generally assumed both in England and in the United States, that he would be allowed to negotiate the effective arrangement of existing differences. No serious politician can have expected that he would obtain better terms than the profuse concessions which are included in the draft of the Convention; but the anxiety of the English Government and nation for a just settlement has defeated itself by encouraging additional demands which are wholly inadmissible. Mr. REVERDY JOHNSON's unaccountable want of tact in proclaiming the imaginary goodwill of his countrymen to England has largely contributed to the same result. It was undoubtedly irritating to the speakers and writers who had, with unanimous consistency, expressed the deepest resentment, to be assured that their animosity was factitious or insincere. It was in vain that Mr. REVERDY JOHNSON combined with his amiable professions an almost litigious tenacity in negotiation. His treaty was condemned before it was seen, on grounds which would have been equally fatal to a still more advantageous compact. The vague statement that the measure of damage suffered by the United States was the cost of one or two years of the civil war may perhaps have been erroneously attributed to General GRANT, but it has been adopted by a large part of the American press. As it would obviously be impossible to frame a treaty on any such assumption, the thoroughgoing opponents of ratification must be understood to object to any possible settlement. It would follow that all the discussions to which Lord STANLEY and Lord CLARENDON devoted so much labour were from the first entirely purposeless. There is a certain inconvenience in the constitutional provision that every treaty to which the United States is a party must be ratified by two-thirds of the Senate. In dealing with other Powers, diplomatists know that the agents with whom they deal will be either summarily disavowed or sustained by their own Governments; but it is impossible to ascertain whether an American Minister has authority even to enter on a negotiation.

Although the popular attacks on the treaty have little rela-

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tion to its contents, it is probable that some of the members of the Senate may disapprove of its terms on special grounds. It is objected that in a possible contingency the claims of English subjects might be allowed by the Commission, while the liability of the English Government for the captures of the *Alabama* would be successfully disputed. Such a result would undoubtedly be annoying to the losing party, as indeed failure is one of the most disagreeable possibilities of all public or private litigation; but it was scarcely to be expected that the English Government would enter on a one-sided reference from which the claims of its own subjects would be peremptorily excluded. All Mr. SEWARD's projects of arbitration included the claimants on both sides; nor was it until lately contended that in this respect he had been too liberal. As an able writer in the *New York Tribune* justly remarks, there is nothing in the protocol which imposes any condition on English claimants in relation to their attitude towards the United States during the continuance of the war; nor indeed is it probable that the owners of vessels seized by American cruisers are or were enthusiastic partisans of the Federal Government. Few citizens of the United States could prefer a claim against England if they were subject to the preliminary condition of proving that they had not professed to share in the national animosity. No Court can take cognizance of the private feelings of litigants, or even of their acts if they have no bearing on the immediate issue. There is no foundation for the further objection that the Commission might deal with subject-matters which properly belong to American jurisdiction. A claim founded on a capture would be conclusively barred by the proof that the captured vessel had been condemned by the proper tribunal. It is wholly immaterial whether claims, either well or ill-founded, are preferred by "a class of Englishmen whose sympathies were all on the side of slavery and the rebellion." The counter claims would probably have been advanced by Americans whose sympathies were on the side of Russia during the Crimean war, of NANA SAHIB during the Indian mutiny, and of the Fenian conspirators. Unless, indeed, Mr. REVERDY JOHNSON should himself unexpectedly have appeared before the Commission, every claimant would probably have avowed himself on all possible occasions the irreconcilable enemy of England.

Some genuine surprise seems to be caused by the discovery that the *Alabama* claims are not conceded. The rash and syco-phantic concessions of English politicians have been accepted in the United States as national admissions of liability. Lord STANLEY, in the course of the last Session, unnecessarily and imprudently expressed the opinion that the *Alabama* claimants would probably recover damages. Mr. MILL, in strict consistency with his own predilections, declared that England owed compensation to the United States. Lord RUSSELL is quoted as another witness, because, at a meeting in honour of Mr. GARRISON, he made an abject confession of error; and of course Mr. GLADSTONE's humble and humiliating apology for his presumption in miscalculating the respective forces of the North and the South is not forgotten. It might have been added that Mr. BRIGHT, with that patriotic feeling which prejudices him against his own country wherever American interests are concerned, took a public opportunity of stating that the Government of the United States, as represented by Mr. REVERDY JOHNSON, had been too forbearing. It may be natural that ordinary Americans should believe that the English Government is bound by the unauthorized language of conspicuous politicians, but official persons and statesmen ought to know that a State can only be represented by its Government. Lord STANLEY's speech assumed that there would be an arbitration, though he injudiciously anticipated its results. Mr. MILL and Mr. BRIGHT are devoted to the cause of the United States; and Lord RUSSELL and Mr. GLADSTONE, though by their ostentatious repentance they gravely compromised their own personal dignity, entirely abstained from prejudging the question of liability. It would have been especially difficult for Lord RUSSELL to retract the arguments which he used in his controversy with Mr. ADAMS, inasmuch as he would have been wholly unable to refute his own maxims and deductions. It is one of the disadvantages of sound reasoning that it cannot be disavowed or recalled, and accordingly diplomats more astute than Lord RUSSELL frequently rely by preference on vague rhetoric and transparent sophisms. The escape of a single vessel destined to become a Confederate cruiser, from an English port, during a war of four years, may or may not justify a claim for compensation. If the American contention is valid, the demand would have been allowed by an arbitrator; but without the intervention of some impartial tribunal the English Government could not honourably admit a liability

which had been repudiated by the United States in the analogous Spanish and Portuguese cases.

The more extravagant demand of a reference to arbitration of the English recognition of Confederate belligerency was not expressly excluded by the terms of the Convention; and it is, therefore, perhaps fortunate that the Senate should terminate the negotiations before a question is raised which would have brought the proceedings of the Commission to a standstill. In his speech to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce Mr. REVERDY JOHNSON insinuated that Lord STANLEY or Lord CLARENDON had finally conceded the monstrous claim in dispute. When Sir H. BULWER calls the attention of the House of Commons to the negotiation, the members of the late and of the present Government will perhaps be able to correct or explain his statement. Having, in its anxious desire of peace, yielded everything, and perhaps more than everything, which was consistent with national self-respect, the English Government can only wait for some future opportunity of negotiation. The apologists for the rejection of the treaty urge in substance that arbitration ought to have been preceded or rendered unnecessary by the concession, on the part of England, of the matter in dispute. The pacific language and feeling of the English nation, and the anxiety of Lord STANLEY and Lord CLARENDON to effect a settlement, are used as arguments for insisting on an absolute and humiliating submission. As the object has not yet been attained, the dispute is to be kept open until some opportunity occurs of exacting vengeance. As the *New York Times* accurately remarked, the doctrine which General GRANT is supposed to have propounded leads, by logical necessity, to an immediate declaration of war; but, as nations are happily not bound to be logical, it is perfectly understood that there is no intention of despatching an army to Canada or a fleet to the West Indies. The *Tribune* correctly describes the popular policy in threatening to equip piratical cruisers against English commerce whenever England is engaged in a foreign war; and Mr. REVERDY JOHNSON hints a similar menace. The untoward escape of the *Alabama* is represented as an intolerable violation of law, but the American Government is deliberately to permit innumerable *Alabamas* to issue from its ports. No English Minister, jurist, or politician has at any time maintained the right of equipping vessels of war against a neutral. The whole controversy has always turned on the special circumstances of the escape of the *Alabama*, and the *Alexandra* was afterwards seized in excess of the strictly legal powers of the Government. Against deliberate violation of the international code there is only one mode of protesting, which may be highly inconvenient. It is, fortunately, not indispensable to enter a formal protest against vague menaces of future lawlessness. The rejection of the treaty as it stood is not to be lamented; and the regret which is caused in England by the unwillingness of the American people to close the dispute will be henceforth entirely unembittered by self-reproach.

LORD BURY ON MINISTERIAL RE-ELECTIONS.

MR. GLADSTONE drew a sound distinction between complicated measures and Bills affirming simple propositions, when he refused to allow Lord BURY's Bill the formal compliment of a first reading. The House was perfectly competent to decide the question, rightly or wrongly, as soon as it was raised; and the mover might at his pleasure have answered the arguments of his opponents in his reply. Lord BURY probably exercised a sound judgment in withdrawing, without unnecessary discussion, a Bill which would otherwise have been summarily rejected. It is sometimes as useless to reason with a majority of the House of Commons as to argue against the master of twenty legions. The short debate on the Bill was only made remarkable by a maiden speech in which Mr. VERNON HARCOURT showed how thoroughly he had already acclimatized himself in the Parliamentary atmosphere. On future occasions Mr. HARCOURT may probably rise into higher levels of eloquence, and he can scarcely fail to deal with more interesting subjects; but, in proving that Ministers ought to forfeit their seats on the acceptance of office, he displayed at the same time his well-known command of language and his appreciation of the tastes and habits of his audience. Next to the great efforts of its most conspicuous orators the House of Commons admires conventional truisms, or fallacies elaborated with rhetorical amplitude of argument and illustration. It is no longer the fashion for Tories to rely on the wisdom of ancestors; but when traditional sanction can be quoted in support of some apparently popular principle, the Liberal majority is delighted with the venerable

authority which sanctions a possibly absurd conclusion. Mr. HARCOURT solemnly reminded the House that the restrictions or pecuniary fines imposed upon official members were nearly coeval, if not with Parliament itself, at least with the modern system of Ministerial responsibility. It would not have been convenient to add, that if the present working of the Constitution could have been foreseen, no legislator would have dreamed of making so gratuitous an addition to the difficulties of representative government. It was as a safeguard against the exercise of a prerogative which has since fallen into disuse that it was proposed at one time to exclude Ministers from Parliament, and afterwards, by a compromise, to send them back to their constituents for re-election. If the original measure had been carried, the existing Constitution could never have existed; and the present relic of obsolete jealousy interferes in some degree with its practical operation. There is a presumption that, when the reason of a law has expired, the effect of an extinct and forgotten cause ought not to be allowed to survive its origin; but, as experience has shown that some antiquarian laws become useful in unexpected ways, English Parliaments generally hesitate to abolish the parasitical appendages which have twined themselves round the ruinous parts of the Constitution. Mr. HARCOURT received merited applause for his historical exposition of the well-known origin of the law; nor was he less successful when he afterwards defended, on entirely different grounds, the continuance of a troublesome and mischievous prohibition.

Parliamentary majorities have long since superseded the Crown in the virtual power of appointing and dismissing Cabinets; yet apologists who have by long habit or natural genius attained a due gravity of demeanour have no difficulty in arguing that an appeal ought in every case to lie from the Imperial Parliament to Greenwich, to Birmingham, or to the Radnor boroughs. When the Jacobin Club demanded that the Convention which represented the whole of France should acknowledge the supremacy of the people as embodied in the Paris mob, the pretension was backed by physical force ready for action. The electors of the boroughs or counties which are temporarily deprived of their members by a change of Government have not the smallest desire to dictate to Parliament or the country; and they generally deprecate the trouble, and the waste of time and money, which are caused by the existing law. The constituents of a leader of the Opposition send him to Parliament for the express purpose of making him a Minister; and when their object is at last attained, they require no formal inquiry, by a Speaker's writ, whether they are inclined to pocket their political winnings. Mr. HARCOURT, who is as ready with party allusions to gratify his own friends and allies as with historical platitudes for the edification of the House, satirically remarked that the inmates of Caves, or, in other words, seceders from their own party, may be supposed to have disappointed their constituents. Mr. WHITE had anticipated the sarcastic insinuation that Mr. LOWE, if he had taken office under Lord DERBY, might possibly have been embarrassed by the necessity of a fresh election for Calne. As the contingency never occurred, the illustration failed of its complete effect; and it is a sufficient answer that if the obsolete law were repealed, constituencies would choose their members with full notice that they might possibly become Cabinet Ministers. Mr. HARCOURT proceeded to prove that the necessity of re-election might possibly throw obstacles in the way of the acceptance of office by Mr. DISRAELI, and that it would to a certain extent furnish to a Minister governing with a minority an additional reason for a dissolution. Sir ROBERT PEEL, as Mr. HARCOURT had, with praiseworthy research, ascertained, stated as a reason for dissolving, on his accession to office in 1834, the inconvenience which might have arisen if any of his colleagues had failed to be re-elected. The researches of a judicious advocate always stop with the discovery of a precedent which suits his immediate purpose. Further inquiry would have shown that in the autumn of 1834 the new Minister was in a minority of more than a hundred, which was reduced to twenty or thirty by the general election. Sir ROBERT PEEL was never in the habit of pinning his heart or his motives on his sleeve for political critics to peck at. When a plausible reason was valid as far as it went, the sagacious Minister invariably preferred it for public use to a fuller manifestation of conscience. If the exclusion of Mr. DISRAELI from power is a proper object of constitutional legislation, it unluckily happens that the necessity of re-election neither prevented his acceptance of office in 1866, nor forced him to dissolve Parliament before the close of 1868. The antagonism between the law and common sense has of late years produced among all parties a feeling that in

ordinary cases it is unfair and ungenerous to oppose a newly-appointed Minister at his re-election. No contest of this kind occurred when Mr. DISRAELI's or Mr. GLADSTONE's Cabinet was formed, nor has there probably been a similar instance within twenty years. Of many questionable arguments, perhaps the weakest was the suggestion that the loss of Mr. BRIGHT's election speech at Birmingham would have been a public misfortune. There is a general and growing belief that hustings' speeches might be advantageously abolished; and if constituents wish to hear the reasons of eloquent members for taking office, they can easily invite them to dinner.

Mr. DISRAELI and his colleagues were, as it has been said, re-elected without a single exception; and therefore the reference to the constituencies was in their case useless. Lord PALMERSTON in 1859, and Mr. GLADSTONE in 1868, took office immediately after a general election, in which the claims of the two great parties and their leaders to power had been the principal point in issue. One of the speakers in the debate of Tuesday pertinently asked why there should be an appeal from the House of Commons to the borough of Tiverton; but in 1859 the voice of Tiverton, whatever it might be worth, had been within a few weeks audibly expressed. When a Government resigns in consequence of an adverse vote, the Session is interrupted for two or three weeks, even for ordinary business, through the natural unwillingness of members to attend the House in the absence of the Ministers. The heads of the great departments are at the same time interrupted in their laborious efforts to master the current business of their offices by their necessary attention to a useless ceremony; and notwithstanding the multiplication of gratuitous inconveniences, the professed object of the constitutional rule is only half attained. The votaries of ancestral wisdom have the good sense not to make copies of their idol, nor to propagate its worship. The peers who form half or more than half of an average Cabinet cannot be included, because they have no constituents; yet the power of the Crown is as dangerously exerted in the choice of Lord CLARENDON, Lord GRANVILLE, and the Duke of ARGYLL, as in the appointment of Mr. CARDWELL. The remaining SECRETARY OF STATE was, as it happened, exempt from the necessity of returning to the ill-judging constituency which had rejected him at Merthyr. Until Mr. BRUCE was elected for Renfrewshire, Mr. HARCOURT and other constitutional purists must have seen with alarm that four-fifths of the seals of State had been distributed without the subsequent ratification of any constituency whatever. The Secretaries of the Treasury, the Secretary of the Admiralty, and the Under-Secretaries of State are, by a convenient fiction, supposed to derive their offices, not from the Crown, but from their respective superiors. If the House of Commons had really believed in the expediency of the law as it affects Cabinet Ministers, the same restrictions would long since have been imposed on their respective subordinates. Although it is not allowable to suppose that Mr. AYRTON or Mr. BAXTER could at any time have seceded from their party, Mr. LOWE might at an earlier period of his career possibly have been a Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. GLADSTONE may be excused for discountenancing a measure of Reform which is not avowedly approved by the majority of the House. The inconvenience, though it is entirely unmingled with advantage, is limited in operation, and it is endurable because it is old. The fear of unpopularity which restrains members from the expression of their real opinions is probably unfounded; but the removal of the restriction might decorously originate with the non-official section of the House. Mr. GLADSTONE and his colleagues may feel a delicacy in proposing to relieve themselves from a fine of some hundreds of pounds if at any future time they again form a Government. The moderate measure by which the last Parliament rendered it possible for the members of a Government to change offices with impunity has in some degree diminished the ancient nuisance and weakened the bulwarks of the Constitution. Mr. HARCOURT's future Parliamentary reputation will not be less solid because its first instalment has been earned by the defence of a sacred and acknowledged abuse.

THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

EVERY one who has watched the course of a trial at law must have observed that witnesses sometimes affect to misapprehend the drift of a question, and give answers which, though literally true, convey a wholly false impression. These fencing tactics seldom succeed when the examining counsel is determined to have a *bonâ fide* answer; but occasionally counsel and witness are in the same mind, and questions are framed for the purpose of eliciting replies true

to the ear, but not to the sense. Such *nisi prius* tricks are not thought very creditable, and, in spite of all temptations, we know that they are never practised in the House of Commons. Still it does sometimes happen that an accidental slip creeps into the terms of a Parliamentary question, and that a Minister, though desiring to reply with the most perfect frankness, mistakes the real object in view, and, by answering the words instead of the spirit of the questioner, inadvertently deceives every one who hears him.

This is exactly what took place on Tuesday night, when Lord ELCHO put his question about the COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. The well-known candour of Lord ELCHO renders it quite unnecessary to say that the error implied in the form of his question, and pointed out by the Minister, was a mere inadvertence, and Mr. CARDWELL is much too upright and experienced an official to condescend to the device of meeting a most important inquiry with an evasive answer. The conversation was undoubtedly quite a *bonâ fide* affair, but, from an unfortunate misconception, the result of the question and answer is simply to throw dust into the eyes of the public. As this was obviously not intended, both Lord ELCHO and Mr. CARDWELL will, we are sure, be grateful to us for removing some of this unlucky dust; and we feel the more bound to do so because it would be affectation on our part not to acknowledge that the question pointed at some observations in an article on Mr. TREVELYAN and the Duke of CAMBRIDGE which appeared in our columns on the 13th instant. The matter will be all the clearer if we first call our readers' attention to the statement which we then made. After pointing out the administrative obstruction caused by the duality which actually exists between the Horse Guards and the War Office, we added some remarks which, as they seem to be impugned by Mr. CARDWELL's answer, we are constrained to repeat. The passage runs thus:—

"In point of fact, almost all the difficulties to which we have referred have been found in past experience to arise from the anomalous authority given to the office of Commander-in-Chief, and not from the rank of its possessor for the time being. The vice is not in the appointment of this or that Commander-in-Chief, but in the studied ambiguity of the warrant which defines his position." We then pointed out that all matters of command and discipline, and all appointments and promotions, were excepted out of the jurisdiction of the Secretary of State, though a vague general responsibility was reserved, and we concluded thus:—"What wonder that all is confusion—that instead of a few high administrative offices under the Minister, you have a staff of two or three great soldiers at the War Office, duplicated by a staff of four or five more great soldiers at the Horse Guards, always corresponding with and intriguing against each other, and doing less real work than half their number, at a third of the cost, would do if the whole government of the army were placed under a single responsible Minister, with the Commander-in-Chief as his first executive subordinate, to undertake the supervision of matters of discipline, promotion, and the like."

Every word of this, including the words which we have now italicized, is, as we shall presently show, absolutely accurate; and our readers will now be prepared to understand the strange fiasco of Tuesday evening. Lord ELCHO put a question to Mr. GLADSTONE, and we think we cannot be wrong in assuming that the object of it was to ascertain whether such a description as we had given of the relations between the War Office and the Horse Guards was correct or not. Unfortunately Lord ELCHO, not having made himself as familiar with the details of the case as we have been obliged to do, put the first part of his question in this shape:—"Whether, under the warrant appointing the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, any doubt arises as to the relative position of the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary of State for War?" and then went on to inquire as to the existence and extent of the dual government, and whether steps were in contemplation for the concentration of the War Departments in one building.

It will be observed, on comparing the italicized passages in our statement and in Lord ELCHO's question, that what we carefully described as "the warrant which defines [the Commander-in-Chief's] position" is referred to by Lord ELCHO as "the warrant appointing the Commander-in-Chief," and that while our criticism was aimed at the anomalous powers of the office, Lord ELCHO's question pointed exclusively to its present occupant, the Duke of CAMBRIDGE. The PREMIER thought fit to leave the WAR MINISTER to answer the question, and we do not accuse Mr. CARDWELL of purposely taking a miserable advantage of Lord ELCHO's blunder in confounding

an "appointing" warrant with a "defining" warrant. Still, with a simplicity which cannot be too much admired in so experienced a veteran, he replied that there was no warrant "appointing" HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, and that his proper technical title (as everybody knows) is not the "Commander-in-Chief," but the "Field Marshal Commanding in Chief." It never occurred to Mr. CARDWELL's mind that the real subject of inquiry was the warrant defining the position of the Commander-in-Chief, and he was therefore entirely silent on the most material point to which we had directed public attention. It never struck him that the relative status of two officers might be defined as well in the warrant appointing the one as in that appointing the other. Oddly enough Lord ELCHO did not think it necessary to correct his question and elicit a substantial answer, and the result is that almost every one who heard Mr. CARDWELL must have supposed that he was directly contradicting our assertion as to the ambiguous warrant; and yet all the while he was talking of something wholly irrelevant, and was of necessity aware that the position of the Commander-in-Chief for the time being is in effect defined by Royal warrant, and that all such warrants apply, in every particular which we mentioned, to the Duke of CAMBRIDGE, although he has only the inferior title. But first, it may be as well to sweep away the little technical cobweb about the designation of HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS. A "General or Field Marshal Commanding in Chief," such as the Duke of CAMBRIDGE, is simply an acting Commander-in-Chief exercising all the powers of the office, with no substantial difference except in dignity and emolument. Mr. CARDWELL, in referring to this trivial distinction, fell into exactly the same error which Mr. TREVELYAN had in a different way fallen into. He treated a grave question as to the relative position of two great offices, the Ministry for War and the Command in Chief, as if it were a matter purely personal to the present holder of the Chief Command. It is not so; and for this reason we have spoken, and shall continue to speak, of the position assigned to "The Commander-in-Chief" in the abstract, instead of limiting ourselves to the exact title which more accurately describes the rank of the Duke of CAMBRIDGE. All that we have urged, and all that we now mean to urge, would apply with equal force whether the Command in Chief was held by a Royal Duke or by a soldier who had risen from the ranks. Now, having disposed of this interpolated quibble, let us come to the substance of the dispute. Has any such warrant as we rather irreverently described ever been framed? This is a simple question of fact, and we know, and Mr. CARDWELL knows, what the answer must be.

The next question is, whether any distinction is made by such warrants between the powers of a General or Field Marshal Commanding in Chief and those of a Commander-in-Chief? Mr. CARDWELL must have learned very little of the traditions of his office if he cannot answer this question also, and he can answer it only by confirming what we have said.

Lastly, we ask whether the warrants in force from time to time have not in practice been interpreted to mean that in the ordinary course of administration the Commander-in-Chief, whether substantive or acting, shall in matters of command, appointments, promotions, and discipline be independent of the Minister, though the Minister may nevertheless retain an extraordinary reserved power of intervention on questions of extreme importance. This gloss gives a sort of meaning to what would otherwise be absurd and unintelligible, and the meaning is that duality shall be the rule, and the interposition of the Minister the exception, to be called into action only on great emergencies. And so the practice always has been, and is to this day. In the face of this well-known practice, which originated long before the appointment of the Duke of CAMBRIDGE, Mr. CARDWELL thought it right and candid to say, in his place in Parliament, that "there exists in principle no 'dual government,' when he knew well that the dual government has always been in full force in practice; and that, so far as Royal Warrants say anything, they say that the whole command and discipline, and all appointments and promotions, shall be, as the general rule, excepted out of the Parliamentary jurisdiction. Is it or is it not the fact that not only military appointments, but all the appointments to the administrative staff of the Horse Guards, from the highest to the lowest, are made, and all their duties assigned, by the General for the time being acting as Commander-in-Chief? And if it is so, with what fairness can Mr. CARDWELL say that the dual system is not at this moment rampant?"

But let us take Mr. CARDWELL at his word, and assume that he has, not in name only, but in reality, the supreme effective power which he, like his predecessors, claims in theory, but which neither he nor his predecessors have ever

dared to exercise. If he has the power, he cannot shirk the responsibility. Every duplicate office in the Horse Guards and the War Department is, we are now told, a duplicate office maintained, by the authority of the Minister, for the aggrandizement of some petted soldier at the expense of the country. A chief is wanted to supervise the whole department of supply, and what do we find? Why, we have two Generals, Sir HENRY STORKS and General BALFOUR, assigned to this work at the War Office; and a third magnificently paid General, called a Quartermaster-General, to do substantially the same work at the Horse Guards. Of these three only one is wanted, and it is well known that the principal duty of the Quartermaster-General is to make routes, and to send requisitions for stores to the twin department which exists at the War Office. Then, again, there is a Military Secretary at the Horse Guards, and his counterpart at the War Office, in the shape of an Under-Secretary of State, developed out of what once was called the Secretary for Military Correspondence. The necessity for these offices is created by the dual system, and one, if not both, might be dispensed with if the General wielding the powers of the Commander-in-Chief were placed at the elbow of the Minister as his military adviser. Then, again, we have at the Horse Guards three Adjutant-Generals—that is to say, the Adjutant-General of the Army, who alone is needed, and two Deputy Adjutant-Generals, quite independent of the first, who report direct to the Duke of CAMBRIDGE as the immediate commander of the Engineers and Artillery respectively. Not only are all these needless and costly offices established as a consequence of the dual government, and of the quasi-independence of the Horse Guards, but a very large percentage of the work of the two departments consists of tedious correspondence and wrangling about trifles, between Pall Mall and Whitehall. For all this waste and mischief Mr. CARDWELL says that he alone is responsible, and should he fail to annihilate it at once, his responsibility would be heavy enough if Ministerial responsibility were less of a farce than it is.

At this moment the Government are insisting, not only at the War Office, but in every department, upon the most stringent economy in the pettiest details. The newspapers are beginning to fill with the lamentations of poor clerks reduced to penury by the inexorable virtue of a Cabinet that is resolved at every cost to reduce the Estimates. Neither regard for the efficiency of the services, nor consideration for faithful work, nor compassion for struggling public servants is allowed to stand in the way of Mr. GLADSTONE's thirst for savings. Within fair and reasonable limits this savage economy may be right, except where it puts a veto on important work; but while in the treatment of the inferior officials parsimony is carried to the verge, and sometimes beyond the verge, of cruelty and injustice, the country cannot be expected to look quietly on while the dual government whose existence "in practice," though not "in principle," Mr. CARDWELL admits, is made the means of furnishing duplicate places to those whom the Commander-in-Chief for the time being may delight to favour.

Mr. CARDWELL hints that at some remote epoch he will do something to remedy these evils by bringing the two departments under one roof. That will be a legitimate change in its way if it is ever effected, but it will not come to much until there is one head as well as one roof over the whole army administration, nor until the Minister of War organizes his office without respect of persons or of rank, and applies the same stern rule alike to those whose salaries are counted by thousands as to those who draw a few poor hundreds from the public funds. The late Ministry went on the principle of making things pleasant all round. Mr. GLADSTONE and his colleagues denounce this laxity, and resolve to make things unpleasant all round. Be it so, but let them apply their hard rule fairly, and beware of making things unpleasant all round with an exception in favour of those who enjoy the highest position, draw the maximum salaries, and in too many cases do the minimum of effective work. A real reformer would seek out and encourage those among his subordinates whom he found to be doing the most valuable work. A sham reformer will encourage the costly ornamental chiefs, and cut down without mercy every one who cannot protect himself by rank and position. It is not yet apparent to which of these classes Mr. CARDWELL, or even the omnipotent Mr. GLADSTONE, belongs. It is something, however, to have extracted the admission that for any continuance of the dualized confusion which has hitherto reigned in the army, the Cabinet and the WAR MINISTER acknowledge their direct responsibility. It will not take long to show how they mean to discharge it, and these are not times when default in such a matter will be tolerated in a Ministry that calls itself Liberal.

After what has now taken place, we trust that, if Lord ELCHO does not repeat his question in a more satisfactory form, some other member will. And perhaps Mr. GLADSTONE will think the subject of sufficient importance to call for an answer from himself.

CONVENTUAL LIFE.

THE Alexandrine trial SAURIN v. STAR has dragged its slow length along before the much enduring Queen's Bench, and we do not need its conclusion to draw the moral of the case. The main issue remains clear and instructive, quite apart from the verdict. That issue is one in which the readers of this journal may be assumed to feel some interest. It has happened to us recently to have been seriously called to task, by a writer in one of the chief Roman Catholic organs, for having denied the principles of the Christian faith, or something like it, because we asked attention to the fact that the three great virtues once considered the very crown and glory of the Gospel—poverty, chastity (or, more properly, the celibate life), and obedience—had ceased to hold their supreme rank or obligation over the conscience. We were told that, if these virtues were not of universal obligation—as they could scarcely be, or it must have been intended by the author of Christianity that the world should come to an end in a single generation—at any rate they were the theological counsels of perfection which formed the ideal of the Christian life. Further, we were reminded that one for whom we have often professed sincere admiration was against us; and Dr. NEWMAN was quoted, when he observed that, "if the truth must be spoken, what are the humble monk, and the holy nun, and other regulars, as they are called, but Christians after the very pattern given us in Scripture? . . . Where shall we find the image of St. PAUL . . . or of MARY the mother of MARK, or of PHILIP's daughters, but in those who, whether they remain in seclusion or are sent over the earth, have calm faces, and sweet plaintive voices, and spare frames, and gentle manners, and hearts weaned from the world, and wills subdued; and for their meekness meet with insult, and for their purity with slander, and for their gravity with suspicion, and for their courage with cruelty?" Whether this charge was seriously preferred by the *Tablet* may be doubted; but we answered it argumentatively, and without levity. We shall not repeat our justification; but we refer to the matter only for the sake of showing how our position is illustrated by this most disagreeable trial, in which, be it remembered, those who are bound we suppose to accept this doctrine, that the conventual life presents the standard of New Testament Christianity, have been impleading one another. We, as what the POPE politely calls us—Non-Catholics, can afford to stand apart and see how not only this ideal and typical life works, but how, after all, it presents itself to human nature and family affection even in its most artificial form—that of a Jesuit father who has accepted the doctrine that the highest duty of the "religious" is to reduce himself to the "cadaverous" condition of humanity divested of the personal will.

When all the lees and sediment of petty and silly details have been strained from the case of SAURIN v. STAR, it cannot but come to this on the most favourable or unfavourable judgment—that the conventual life presents no guarantee against the errors, weaknesses, and sins of the worldly life; and further, the suspicion is raised that, as developed and working among people such as men and women now are—and that they are what they are is a fact which cannot be got rid of by wishing that it were otherwise—this same conventual life presents special opportunities and occasions for the cultivation of certain special errors, weaknesses, and sins. And this is a very important social matter, for one must be dead to every right feeling not to recognise that the intention and object of such an institution as that of Sisters of Mercy, or the Brotherhood of St. VINCENT OF PAUL, and similar sodalities male and female, are not only religiously proper, but in some way or other remarkably suitable to large social needs of the present day. There are many excellent people, female and male, who are impelled by the strong desire of benefiting their fellow-creatures, the poor and sick and ignorant, and who are consumed by the burning love of good works, who look to such institutions with a natural instinct as furnishing the best modes by which they can discharge duties which, visionary as they may be to others, are real and practical to them. They think that a common life of common duties, a holy interchange of mutual love and experience, a rule involving submission of the will to those of greater experience and ability, will best secure them from their own wickedness and self-seeking. There

is little to be said against this ideal of conventual life. It only just requires perfection; that is to say, it assumes it. But in the case of most of those adopting the conventual life, they wish to use it as a means of acquiring those angelic tempers and that perfection of attainment which the very fact of the life presupposes. Here seems to be the weak point of these institutions; they are sought as a means for acquiring the very conditions which they presuppose. They would act very well, we dare say, were all their members that which on entering this life they suppose, or at least profess, themselves to be. The profession of a nun or monk assumes that all evil dispositions are dead in them; that they have already acquired the exact discipline which their work requires; that they can be as self-denying, obedient, and abundant in every virtue as their vows assume them to be. In practice it comes out that the professed members do not come up to their own description of themselves. It may be that, after all, Sister MARY SCHOLASTICA was only a very commonplace sort of person—rash, impulsive, eager to form great friendships, and equally ready to break them. She seems to have had a fretting sort of mind, apt to take offence, to find her companions disagreeable, and to make herself equally disagreeable. Finding that she was in a false position, and had made a fatal mistake in life, she turned that life into a curse to herself and all that she came into contact with. She was just the sort of person we constantly meet with; and among her sisters or schoolfellows she would have been much as she was in the convent. She developed considerable talents for making herself and everybody about her uncomfortable. This is about the worst which probably could be said about her; and it is not after all so very bad, or, at any rate, it is a character common enough.

To live with a person of this sort must be a trial; but it is a trial which becomes infinitely more severe and exasperating under the peculiar conditions of a nunnery. Women, as a rule, do not get on well together. Their natural weakness and infirmities of temper, for good as for evil, require to be strengthened and elevated by intercourse with the masculine mind. A community of women, or even a woman's party, wants a backbone. Largeness of view, a strong sense of justice, and a severe contempt of paltriness and little miserable details of looks and gestures and suspicions and guesses, these are not to be expected in a woman's set. And, after all, a nunnery is only a woman's set. Where these qualities are met with in the members of an ordinary family there is confusion. The convent reproduces in an unfortunate form the family—the family life with its temptations, but without its safeguards. Such an inmate as Miss SAURIN is admirably calculated to bring out the very worst parts of the tempers of her companions. In this case, assuming the very worst against the Hull nuns, it seems to have been so. Her infirmities and pettinesses were met with infirmities and pettinesses; her disagreeables with harshness, suspicion, and even tyranny. The rules of her order armed the Superior with powers of being at the very least extremely disagreeable, which, it may be, Mrs. STAR availed herself of to the uttermost. A "cantankerous" inmate whom you cannot get rid of, whom you cannot bring down to the required humility and abasement, must sorely try the temper. The Mother Superior, we can quite understand, was sorely tried; the Sisters were sorely tried; Sister SCHOLASTICA was sorely tried. And the result was that the house came in practice to be not the home of every virtue and every grace, but an unpleasant abode of bickering, quarrelling, insubordination on one side, contumely and suspicion, if not oppression, on the other, and—to speak familiarly—nagging, fretting, frowning, and chafing, all round. Childish faults and offences are met with childish reprisals and punishments; and instead of the calm serene life of sacred contemplation and active beneficence, the chief interest of the Hull community was to discover whether one of their Sisters did not appropriate boot-laces, or was not in the habit of surreptitiously appropriating scraps of biscuit, and the school-children's stale crusts. No doubt it is infinitely disgusting to hear of all the little annoyances, and even the ill-treatment, which, according to her own account, was lavished on this unfortunate black sheep. The very recital of them, whether they are to be construed literally or whether they are exaggerated, shows at least this, that a convent is no security against the very worst errors of the worldly life. If Mrs. STAR inflicted these indignities, or if Miss SAURIN invented them, the case as against this sort of life, whichever narrative is true, is equally fatal.

We may go further and say, that in common domestic life, either to have acted as the Mother Superior is said to have

acted, or to have made up such a story as Miss SAURIN is said to have made up, is simply and happily impossible. Public opinion, even within the narrow limits of a family circle, would have prevented it. Taking Miss SAURIN's exaggerated and hurried statements as literally true, the only analogous case is that of a ship's crew at sea. There are sometimes deeds of the most horrible cruelty perpetrated under the name of discipline, which is much the same thing as conventual obedience. A despotic captain reproduces an irresponsible Superior in religion. In either case he is the centre and sun of a small system, amenable to no check from public opinion; in a word, practically irresponsible. It is so in a convent. The feminine nature, we fear, is too often essentially cruel; not the less essentially cruel because with women the art of ingeniously tormenting is from circumstances contracted to small opportunities of inflicting corporeal punishment. But the very same temper which in a sea-captain ties his victim to the capstan, would in a Mother-superior be restricted to the small but irritating power of investing her small victim with a dirty duster on her head. This is the worst that can be said against Mrs. STAR; and certainly the worst has been said. On the other hand, it is the system which is responsible for developing all the infirmities of Miss SAURIN's character into that tissue of disobedience, untruthfulness, and grumbling with which she is, truly or falsely, charged. The warning is not without its healthy as well as its painful side. It addresses itself to the young, the susceptible, and the enthusiastic. They had better pause before they take irrevocable vows; they had better think twice, even at the mature age of eighteen—Miss SAURIN's age, we believe, of profession—before they commit themselves to a life which requires precisely those gifts and virtues which it is impossible that pious, ardent, inexperienced, and sentimental girls can possess. This case, whichever view we take of it, shows that to form a certain character the very worst course is to assume that you have it. And, unless our memory fails us, we have heard this sort of thing before. The lady, and she was one who scarcely made her revelations attractive, who wrote some years ago two disagreeable books—*Flemish Interiors*, and a *Glance behind the Grilles of French Religious Houses*—tells much the same story. A Miss GOODMAN made somewhat of the same charges against Miss SELLON of the Plymouth sisterhood. In all these cases there was exaggeration. But there was smoke behind the fire; as there is in this case.

BRICK AND MORTAR IN PARIS.

A NEWER excitement, and one of which the scene is laid nearer home, has taken the place of the Belgian railway business in the minds of Paris politicians. Whether the sudden moderation of the semi-official journals was due to the discovery that they had misinterpreted the EMPEROR's wishes, or to an intimation that since the fighting had not been taken up by the independent press it had failed to answer its purpose, or to the transfer of the controversy from journalistic to diplomatic ground, is more than can be said with certainty. Happily the French Government has of late shown in a great number of instances that it has thoroughly mastered the art of effecting a retreat. But for this consoling reflection, some natural alarm might have been entertained lest it should feel compelled, in common consistency, to make its acts square with its words. Threatened men, however, live long, and the rule holds good even when the ultimate author of the threats is NAPOLEON III. Belgium is not likely to be a sufferer by reason of the audacity of her Senate in passing a Bill to which the French Government was known to be adverse. The question will probably be let gently down through a descending scale of rumours until it reaches that limbo of groundless alarms to which the Imperial Government has been so generous a contributor. In the face of M. FRERE-ORDAN's speech in the Senate, it would have been hard even for a semi-official journalist to maintain that Belgium had done anything more than her indignant neighbour would have done under similar circumstances. If, said the Minister, the Eastern of France had wished to cede its line to a foreign company, if the French Government had expressed its disapproval of the proposal, and offered itself to buy the line, if the Eastern of France had, without taking any notice of this communication, proceeded to complete the contract—what course would the Government have taken? It is much easier to bluster about distrust, defiance, and ingratitude than to answer a plain question like this, and the portion of the Paris press upon which the duty would have devolved may be thankful that it has been spared the necessity by the signal to cease firing.

The abandonment of the contest has been masked to a great extent by the discussion in the Corps Législatif on the finances

of the city of Paris. The storm which has been brewing for years has come at last in the shape of a speech from M. THIERS. Financial arrangements which court concealment could not have a more dangerous foe. The municipal Budget unrolls under his hands in a way which throws the strongest light on exactly those places which the Prefect of the Seine most desires to keep obscure. The question before the Corps Législatif related to a particular loan, but this necessarily brought up the whole history of the financial policy which had led to this loan being required. Certainly the figures, as they stand, are somewhat startling. During the last fifteen years close upon 2,000,000,000 francs have been spent on the "transformation" of Paris. The annual expenditure now amounts to 250,000,000 francs—"just double," says M. THIERS in an aside, "the total expenditure of Belgium or Bavaria." The Budget in which these figures are presented is modelled on the Budget of the Empire. Its leading principle is to put facts pleasantly at starting, in the hope that people will find them dry reading, and not turn the page. First, therefore, comes the ordinary Budget, showing an income of 156,000,000 francs against an expenditure of only 102,000,000. This is followed by the regular extraordinary Budget amounting to 61,000,000 francs, and this by the special extraordinary Budget amounting to another 60,000,000. And then the supplementary Budget brings up the estimates to the grand total. The last three members of the series deal entirely with expenditure. Even Baron HAUSMANN's power of conjuring is unable to represent the receipts as anything more than the initial 156,000,000 francs. It is in making provision for this deficit that his financial ingenuity has been exercised during the whole period of his reign. How he has contrived to make two ends meet he is probably himself unable to say; but the inability is unimportant, as the creditors who have found the money may be trusted to keep the account for him. Unhappily debt, like death, knocks, in the end, at every door, and the master of the Hôtel de Ville has not discovered any means of evading the inevitable dun. "My work is at an end," says Baron HAUSMANN. "No," answers M. THIERS, "your work is not at an end—but your resources are."

Indeed, however loudly the Prefect of the Seine may protest on this last point, it is obvious from the whole tenor of his administration that nothing is further from his thoughts than bringing his operations to an immediate, or even a speedy, end. While the French workman is kept constantly employed his political tendencies do not often exhibit themselves in action. Good wages, and the knowledge that it is the Government that pays them, exercise a highly conservative influence on all who come within their reach. If the reconstruction of Paris were suspended, and the huge artisan army to whose wants the process ministers were suddenly thrown out of work, there might be considerable danger that the Socialism which is only dormant in its ranks would no longer be limited to theory. The Government and the Opposition disagree of course as to the number of hands who would be affected by a discontinuance of the Prefect's labours. By the Opposition they are variously stated at from 200,000 to 500,000; by the Government the total is reduced to a mere trifle of 91,000. Probably the discrepancy does not go beyond the surface. An official speaker would be sure to reckon none but workmen in the strictest sense of the term, while the Opposition calculation no doubt takes in all the unskilled labourers who practically share the workman's fortunes, because they cannot be employed except in conjunction with him. Even with the omission of this probable correction, 91,000 Frenchmen, all starving, and all cherishing a grievance against the authorities, are a vision from which personages of greater importance than the Prefect of the Seine may be allowed to shrink back in affright. If war were to break out, the conscription might in part dispose of the difficulty; but as long as peace lasts there will probably be means found and excuses devised to enable the Government to retain the position of paymaster. Meantime the prosperity of the artisan involves a constantly increasing tax on the other classes of society. The cost of living in Paris has grown enormously, and even the rise in prices does not make up to the shopkeepers for the yet greater rise in rents. "Thirty years ago," says M. THIERS, "there was not a shop in Paris let at more than 15,000 or 20,000 francs; now there are some which fetch 80,000 or 90,000 francs." If you want proof, he adds, go and search the registry of bankruptcies.

Baron HAUSMANN, or the authorities by whom he is inspired, have certainly arranged their operations in the best possible order for their own purposes. If all the obvious improvements had now been effected, and only the less urgent portions

of the scheme remained incomplete, it might be difficult to make out a case for going on. Things have been so managed, however, that, with the exception of the Rue de Rivoli and the Boulevard de Sébastopol, which even M. THIERS acknowledges to be real improvements, most of what has yet been achieved affects only the outskirts of Paris. The Boulevard du Prince Eugène runs through a series of gardens, the Boulevard Haussmann does but give loungers another road from the Madeleine to the Arc de l'Étoile. The system on which Paris has been rebuilt could only be paralleled in London by the construction of new streets on the largest scale through St. John's Wood or Tyburnia or Clapham. By this means, if the Prefect is now asked to stop, he can point to many much-needed changes in the centre of Paris, and ask his critics whether they are willing that the real wants of the city should be left uncared for, after so much money has been spent on mere accessories. There is not much chance, however, that the request will as yet be put forward in a way to demand an answer. Financiers and politicians may predict that an evil day is coming, but the general public sees only that Paris has become a more enjoyable place to live in, and that the crowds of strangers which have been thus attracted thither spend a good deal of money during their stay. The people who find the outlay and the people who gain by it are not the same, and at present the Government is more interested in pleasing the latter than in lightening the burdens of the former. Baron HAUSMANN's gourd will hardly be cut down just yet.

INDEPENDENCE OF THOUGHT.

NONE of Mr. Mill's works is so brilliantly written, none has so much of the prophetic air, none is supported by such a force of genuine and intelligible passion, as his *Essay on Liberty*. The propositions therein contained are directed, not against some subtle metaphysical hypothesis or politico-economical fallacy, but against that which is the most pervading power in the whole world, which dominates with irresistible force over the uneducated and the unthinking, and is scarcely ever wholly expelled even from the learned and the intelligent—the sense of blind companionship, the laziness which cannot, and the fear which dares not, form any thought for itself, the instinctive clinging for help to another which arises from the want of individual energy of soul. Who can deny the merit of a philosopher who comes forward to attack this temper, and to encourage men to dare, at all costs, to be themselves? Nevertheless we are of opinion that Mr. Mill, in the vehemence of his assault on one error, has forgotten the existence of an opposite error, and has in consequence neglected to gain a full view of that temperament which is the best aid to every man in the discovery of truth. And though the subject is one of the most extensive, yet a few hints towards clearing it up may not be unprofitably given in a short compass.

Men are, as a fact, widely different from each other. Even between those who are nearest in blood, in neighbourhood, and in friendship, the dissimilarities are great; and between men brought up in different spheres, and especially of diverse nationality, the distance in thought, feeling, and opinion becomes so wide as hardly ever to be bridged over in such a manner as to lead to a perfect mutual understanding. Now this far-reaching, deep-seated diversity of men is a fact to be recognised, and yet it is a fact which it needs some courage to recognise. For there is a sense of safety in community of thought and belief; no one likes to be considered an outcast from the general tone of those among whom he lives; and when once some strong mind has impressed a certain habitual disposition on its neighbours, any one who dissents from this is considered strange, unaccountable, and an alien. As sheep keep warm by huddling close together, so the opinions of common men retain their vitality and existence by their affinity and close neighbourhood to each other. And yet beneath this outward appearance of similarity there is in truth a wide dissimilarity; men repeat the same phrases and the same watchwords, while the real moving force of their lives, their deepest faith and most constant desire, may be fundamentally different, and even opposite. And it is an essential condition of veracity, of sincerity, of advance in the knowledge of reality, that men should open their eyes to this diversity, should learn that agreement in words is no sure guarantee of agreement in thought, and should be content to resign the apparent unity which had prevailed among them when they know that it only serves to cloak over an actual disunion. This is the meaning of the advice given to men to "dare to be themselves"; to dare to examine what is their genuine state, what they truly desire, hope, and believe, and not be staggered should they discover that, in their natural selves and of their own spontaneous disposition, they would not express themselves as they have been taught and accustomed to express themselves in imitation of others. This is true liberty of thought; it is the liberation from the bondage of words; and it must of necessity result in the liberation of speech. For no man can be individual in thought without the struggle to express this individuality in the concrete and permanent form of language; if his thought does not advance in strength and durability, it decays and dies. It does not, unfortunately, by any means necessarily follow that when a man

has won freedom of thought for himself he should desire it for others also; but others will naturally have a tendency to imitate his example; and after a time it is discovered that this individuality, this breaking of the chain of formal unrealized words, is in all cases an advance towards truth. And thus thinkers who are free themselves do in the end consent, and even rejoice, that others should be free also, in spite of their opinion that this freedom is, in many cases, used to oppose what they themselves regard as most valuable.

So far Mr. Mill, as we understand him, says; and so far we agree with him. But the evils caused by pressing to an extravagant degree this spirit of individuality are not stated by Mr. Mill; as far as appears, they have not been observed by him; and indeed his own works do, unless we are much mistaken, show very clear signs that he has suffered from this non-observance. For, granted that men are to "dare to be themselves"; that they are to recognise and insist upon what they themselves naturally think, and not merge it in any form of words prescribed to them by another; is this recognition of diversity, of our own individual opinion as opposed to that of others, an ultimate state? Certainly not; no man either thinks for himself alone, or by himself alone. The bulk of our knowledge, in all its broader and more general portions, we receive through others; the society in which we dwell has from our earliest years been pouring into our minds opinions, ideas, prejudices, thoughts; what is peculiar to ourselves is for the most part merely the combination and form in which these are held. And, conversely, we cannot hold strongly any belief, in whatever proportion it may owe its origin to the influence of others or to our own energy, without desiring to diffuse that belief back over the whole society from which so many of its main elements must necessarily have been derived. We cannot genuinely believe, without the desire to propagate our belief. It is not the sense of individuality alone, it is the sense of individuality joined with the sense of community in one bond with all mankind, that is the only trustworthy guide in the pursuit of truth.

Thus it is necessary to preach to men, not merely that they ought to be individual, but also that they ought to be social; and our energy in clinging to the one of these doctrines should imply a corresponding energy in clinging to the other. In a certain sense, both of these forms of moral teaching are commonplace; the maxims "Dare to think for yourself," and "Pay respect to what other people think," are each of them some thousands of years old. But there is a vast difference between assenting to the terms of a moral maxim and grasping vividly its meaning in connexion with the particular circumstances of the time. And if men at the present day are less individual than they ought to be, it is not the less true that their social instincts are defective (and we speak more especially of this matter of opinions and beliefs); they do not submit themselves sufficiently to other minds; they do not endeavour with all their power to absorb the elements of good in doctrines which come to them under a forbidding guise; they have not the humility to think that they may possibly be misapprehending those whom they condemn; they have not the generosity to suspend their judgment, however they may profess in words toleration for the obnoxious opinions. The maxims which should guide a true thinker are these:—"Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto"; "The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now." These maxims are, indeed, very difficult to hold by practically. When we meet some actual representative of unpalatable beliefs, how can we repress our rising indignation? The conviction almost unavoidably forces itself upon us that his qualities of head and heart are far from what they ought to be, far below the standard at which our own are maintained. And this conviction puts his obstinacy in a still worse light, for he actually rejoices in these bad qualities of his. How tempting it is to put him (if we can do so) into a logical dilemma, and leave him there! But "*Nihil humani a me alienum puto*" is the only justifiable principle; we cannot sever ourselves from the faults and errors of our neighbour. Whether his desires and principles are in reality better or worse than our own cannot, for the most part, be known till after diligent examination; and in the meanwhile we must do our utmost to identify ourselves with him, and try to discern, under strange forms of words, fears and hopes which are really inherent in ourselves. For it will generally be found, among men of the same generation, that common impulses have prevailed among them, even when the outward appearances are most dissimilar. The same character will re-appear in the statesman, the poet, the philosopher, and the architect; it will be the same fundamental cause that makes one man a fanatical revolutionist, another a bigoted obstructive, a third a sceptic. It is then the task of a man who really wishes to know the truth for himself, and truly to judge his neighbours, to penetrate beneath that outward mask which words throw over thought, and to discern the identity which lies hid below. He must assume, even when appearances seem most to contradict it, that he is not alien from those who most deeply offend him. There is a fundamental rationality in man; and though it is hard, amid the confused skein of words, the premature and tentative efforts at grasping and expressing the whole sum of truth, which have marked every successive generation, to disentangle that which is the clue to the whole—the genuine impulse which was the origin of so much that is obscure and seemingly nonsensical—yet the endeavour must be persistently made. And if we are inclined, as is often the case, to be angry with those who take their opinions by rote, yet such anger should not be extreme. Those who take their opinions by rote do, in effect, as far as in

them lies, ally themselves with so much of our common humanity as comes within their reach; they testify to the existence of the common bond between themselves and others; and this should be admitted, even when we blame their indolence or timidity in refraining from the energy of individual thought.

This sympathy with men, which is so valuable, this identification of ourselves with others, and abnegation of our own individuality in favour of the common spirit of mankind, this dexterity in penetrating through the uncouth and unfashioned speech to the real thought of those with whom we have to deal, is not won by logical power, though logical power may be a great aid towards perfecting it. It is far more closely allied to the imagination; and, like all imaginative excellence, it demands as its condition tenderness, delicacy, and the absence of self-sufficiency. Now these are qualities which intellectual men are wont to overlook, and sometimes even to despise; their chief aim is, too often, to be unassailable; so long as they are impregnable in the propositions which they venture to affirm, they do not care how scanty those propositions may be, how inadequate to maintain men even in their present condition of happiness, how little likely to be fruitful of great and important discoveries. The position of such a man as Kepler, nine-tenths of whose works are pure failure and mystical obscurity, but who in the tenth part discovered some of the most pregnant and valuable truths ever laid open by man, is surely far more honourable than the position of Hume, who contented himself with the lucid exhibition of the difficulties and seemingly insoluble contradictions to which the ordinary beliefs of his time, and the theses of its most genuine inquirers, might be brought.

We do not say that the present generation is very conspicuously inferior to preceding generations in the cultivation of the sentiments which we have been recommending. But it ought to be superior; and we think that on the whole, since the beginning of the century, there has been retrogression. The intellectual men of the present time look on themselves as a peculiar people, place themselves in isolation from the thoughts of other ages, survey with contempt all ideas that do not spring from a certain circle of thinkers; which certainly was not the case then. They do indeed think that they justify themselves by claiming to be on the side of the large uneducated or imperfectly educated classes of the community. But it stands to reason that they must in reality be further removed from the sympathies of these than from those of the intervening classes, the middle ranks or the well-educated Conservatives. And it is sheer irrational partisanship to establish an alliance on the single basis of a dislike held by both parties in common, or on anything except a genuine mutual understanding. That cannot be a sincere respect for another which is taken up as a means of exciting prejudice against a third party. For our own part, we desire to express a genuine respect for the working-classes. But we say that, as is the case with all people who have insufficient leisure, their knowledge of language is not sufficient to enable them to express with accuracy their real wants; their knowledge of things is not sufficient to enable them to discern the remedies for those wants. They, in short, are sincere and true in feeling, and it is most important that their voice should be heard; but their language needs interpretation, and this, distinctly, through the defect of intellectual development. And when a public writer discharges accusations of immorality against the ministers of all religions because they use the words that have been taught them by others, he fails to see that this is, in some degree, an inevitable necessity for all men; and that it becomes a still more stringent necessity in proportion to the diminished leisure and opportunities of the class of whom we have been speaking.

We have wandered from Mr. Mill. And, in reference to this point, we are sure that Mr. Mill has always strenuously endeavoured to do justice, to escape from isolation and a narrow individuality, and to enter into the sympathies of men. But his works bear it on their face that this has always been an effort to him; it is not his natural instinct; he has always preferred the combative position. And in truth, with all Mr. Mill's desire for fairness, we do not know any philosopher whose treatment of his opponents is so unintentionally irritating. He never entirely quits the region of words; Plato says one thing, and Cicero says another, and Comte another, and these sayings (remarks Mr. Mill) are fallacies or absurdities; but to put himself in Plato's or Cicero's or Comte's position, to see what they were aiming at, what was the central instinct that made them wander into these (if you like) absurd propositions, he does not inquire. He has seldom been able to cast himself loose from formulated language, and to feel the tentative motions of another's spirit. And hence his conclusion with respect to the vast majority of previous philosophers is that nearly everything which they have put forward is absurd. He praises them for this, and only for this, that they dared to think in a way contrary to that of ordinary men—a merit which, in his eyes, far outweighs the fault of absurdity in the opinions. To us it appears that, if this were the only praise that could be assigned to such philosophers as Descartes and Leibnitz, it would be one of the strongest possible arguments against individuality of thought. If individuality has, in the greater number of its most eminent possessors, led simply to absurdity, is not this an argument against individuality? We assent to Mr. Mill's enthusiasm for individuality; but in order to assent to it, we are obliged to conclude that his treatment of the philosophers most eminent for individuality has been very imperfect indeed.

NATURAL SELECTION AMONGST MANKIND.

IF Mr. Darwin's doctrine is well founded, the human race as at present constituted is the result of a long and exceedingly slow elaboration. It resembles one of the machines advertised as possessing all the newest and best improvements. We, in our collective capacity, are heirs of all the ages from the first dawn of life until now, and, until we are in turn superseded by something better, may flatter ourselves that we combine in the highest degree practicable all reconcilable good qualities. What may be the ultimate value of these speculations is at present, and perhaps is likely long to remain, an open question; but one application of the theory, amongst many others, is of extreme practical interest. We may or may not have descended from the monkeys, and if we have, it must be granted that, in spite of much which might be urged to the contrary, we have on the whole made a distinct advance in morality and intelligence. In spite of wars and pauperism and commercial scandals, we are very superior to the dogheaded baboons. But the question remains, whether the same process is still at work amongst mankind. Is it true that the races which are furthest removed from the animals tend to supplant those of a distinctly lower type? Is it probable that at some distant period the world will be peopled by civilized beings of European descent, and that from them will arise a still nobler race, with larger brains, greater physical capacities, and more highly developed social affections? Without looking to a future so remote that our feeble vision can never expect to penetrate its depths, we may ask whether a progress in that direction is distinctly visible to the naked eye. It might be vain to inquire whether in a few million years there will be a race of beings on the planet capable of looking down upon us as we look down upon naked savages, or even "showing a Newton as we show an ape"; but it is important to know whether on the whole the superior races of mankind are supplanting those just below them in the scale, or whether some of the highest qualities at present developed are likely to be absorbed in a competition with inferior races of men. Certain familiar facts may be quoted in favour of the more cheerful prospect. New Zealanders and Red Indians are on the road to extinction, and the capacity of the negro to survive competition with the white man is still a very doubtful problem. The best hope held out for him is that he may survive, free from the disadvantages of slavery, but still at the best a serviceable and distinctly inferior drudge. If we might confidently apply these results to races divided by less palpable distinctions, we should infer, not only that Europeans are supplanting savages, but that the best races of Europe are likely to supplant those a degree or two below them. In other words, of course, we should look forward to the day when the population of the globe would be of exclusively English descent, which would be inexpressibly cheering.

Two or three difficulties, however, have been raised, which point to causes likely to retard this desirable consummation. Thus it has been said, although statisticians do not seem as yet to have decided the point, that the native American is being absorbed by the foreign immigration, and that expressly because he represents on the whole a superior type of civilization. The educated and intelligent native naturally feels the influence of prudential restraints. He does not marry, unless he has a fair prospect of supporting a family. He tends more and more to approximate to the social condition illustrated in France, where population increases so slowly as to be all but stationary. Meanwhile the immigrant, with a far lower standard of comfort, multiplies at an unprecedented rate, and bids fair in a few generations completely to swamp the higher type of man, and that for the very reason that he is at a lower intellectual stage. In other words, the fact that one part of a population is less capable of foresight and self-restraint gives it a direct advantage in the struggle for existence. It is unnecessary for this purpose to ask whether the facts are correctly stated, or whether there may not be some other explanation at hand. It may be said, for example, that the native American is physically degenerate, and is so far an inferior animal that, from certain climatic influences, or from the social habits of the people, his constitution is not so robust as that of his ancestors. It may be that the race is undergoing a slow process of acclimatization, and that a true interpretation of the facts observed would be somewhat different; the advantage would only be in the first race of emigrants, and ultimately those who had adapted themselves to the new soil through a long process of modification would gain the superiority. This, however, is a speculation for which the proper data have not as yet been accumulated. The difficulty suggested is the simple one that, in certain cases, the absence of that sensibility to prudential restraints which is the product of long-continued civilization gives an advantage to the least civilized part of the community. An argument in some respects similar is urged by alarmists of a different class. In California and Australia, it is said, the man of European origin is being ousted by the Asiatic. The Chinaman is an inferior being, both physically and intellectually, to his competitor. He can do less work, and is less capable of the higher kinds of thought. As, however, he can live upon the bare leavings of an American or English labourer, he succeeds in insinuating himself into the lower branches of labour, and, having abundance of ingenuity, industry, and capacity for imitation, he gradually ousts his more cultivated, but more expensive, rival. He is already the object of bitter jealousy; and, considering his perseverance, his powers of increase, and the enormous population of which he is the representative, he is

likely to become even more formidable in future. If the Irishman swamps the American, Irishmen and Americans alike are in danger of being eaten out in course of time by the semi-barbarian races of the East, and the world, instead of being Americanized, will undergo a process for which a similar word should, if possible, be coined from the substantive Chinese. The danger is, of course, remote; but if a population of 300,000,000 once takes to expanding beyond its borders in a rapid geometrical increase, it is hard to assign any limits to its possible future.

A danger of a different kind is suggested by another observer. The agricultural population of the country is, it has been said, physically deteriorating. So far as the decay results from insufficient food and clothing, we may hope that it is a temporary and local result, caused, not by the progress of civilization, but by the fact that civilization has failed to penetrate into certain districts. But it is further argued that the improvements which have come within reach of the poorer classes have failed to benefit them permanently. A great many feeble infants have been preserved, who, under a rougher system, would have died; and, consequently, the average strength of constitution is diminished. The hardships of former times acted usefully by thinning out the population, and the healthier were selected by a spontaneous process to grow up and become the parents of the next generation. How far this can be true as a rule must be a very complicated question. The hardships which kill off the weak must tell more or less prejudicially upon the strong who survive. If we succeed in bringing up many who would have disappeared under a more severe test, it is fair to suppose that we also destroy certain evils which would have brought down the general standard of health. The implied doctrine seems to be that certain trials which injure the sickly tend positively to invigorate the healthy. But the hardening theory is only applicable within very narrow limits, and the more ordinary case would seem to be that anything which is bad for one class tells proportionately upon the other. Certainly the savage tribes upon whom the experiment is tried on the largest scale seem to be of distinctly weaker fibre than the more pampered European; and the soldier who has been luxuriously brought up is said to stand hardships better than his rougher companion who, in the common phrase, has been inured to hardships from his youth. Still we may suppose that, within certain limits, which it is impossible to define, the effect of rearing the sickly part of the population is to produce a race of inferior stamina. If we had not certain awkward moral feelings, we ought to choose out the most promising babies, as we take the best-looking puppies in a litter, and remorselessly drown all who are not strong enough to live.

The general result would therefore be that civilization produces upon the human race an effect analogous to that which racing is alleged to produce upon the breed of horses. We certainly develop some qualities in a very high degree; we get a highly nervous, sensitive, and intellectual race; but they are wanting in the robust physical qualification which is a necessary substratum for their other merits. The first necessity of a population, as for an individual, is that it should live. It may display the finest intelligence, but if it has not vitality enough to carry on an interminable struggle for existence, it will not be able to get a hearing at all in this world. The rough pachydermatous part of the population will expand at the cost of the more refined; the inferior races, which on the whole manage to produce a greater surplus with a given amount of labour, will push on one side the more costly, though more powerful, machine, just as screw-steamers supplant paddle-wheels, not because they are faster or more convenient, but because they burn less coal to produce a given speed. And finally, if we become so tender-hearted as to rear all the weakly constitutions, we shall pay for our humanity by degenerating in average strength, and shall be literally too good for this world; or, if a statement in such terms sounds too improbable, we may say that our goodness may perhaps be developed out of proportion to our foresight or our severer virtues. So far as there is any truth in this view, it would not be in any way opposed to the doctrine of natural selection; for that doctrine merely asserts that the races will survive which, on the whole, are best adapted to the world in which we live. It would be a partial condemnation of our modern civilization, and would show that, although it has produced a race distinctly better fitted for self-preservation than the Red Indian or the negro, it has yet developed mankind in a very imperfect and one-sided manner. We are trying, according to the proverb, to chop blocks with razors, and have encouraged delicacy at the price of strength. Men, like horses, are becoming "weedy," and require an infusion of some stronger and less highly strung organizations. The excitable American needs to be invigorated by the duller European immigrant; and in some climates at least, the white man will have to be content with supplying commanding officers to use their brains in directing the ruler rank and file of Asiatic races. In short, we should have to regard the development of mankind, not as a continuous process in which the finest race in existence at a given period always tends to multiply at the expense of its neighbours, but rather as a tentative and vacillating advance, where certain races gain for a time exceptional merits at the expense of vitality, and then have to sink back upon the more vigorous breeds of the second rank.

The observations necessary to determine this point would undoubtedly be of the highest interest. We should hardly be philosophical enough to be reconciled to a partial deterioration of the

race by the fact that it is in accordance with the law of natural selection. It would be melancholy to believe that the progress upon which we pride ourselves is in part illusory, and that we must start again from a lower platform. We would infinitely rather discover that the alleged indications of decline are merely exceptional. The case of a new country is obviously not quite in point. There is there a special demand for the rougher kinds of labour, and the race which increases most rapidly has an advantage which it does not possess in other countries. What is required is as many millions as possible of rough hard-working pioneers; and the enormous increase of the immigrant population in America has been in fact produced immediately by such a demand. In a country in the normal state, where the limits of population are closer, the more intellectual qualities will give a greater advantage; and it is at least probable that the evils which result from preserving the weakly children will be counterbalanced by removing the causes of general depression. This, however, is an intricate problem, which we must be content for the present simply to note, without attempting to discover a satisfactory solution.

DOLLS.

THE love of dolls is instinctive with children, and a nursery without some of these silent simulacra for the amusement of the little ones is a very lifeless affair. But outside the nursery door they are stupid things enough; and whether improvised of wispied-up bundles of rags, or made of the costliest kind of composition, they are at the best mere pretences for the pastime of babies, not living creatures to be loved, or artistic creations to be admired. Certainly they are pretty in their own way, and some are made to simulate human actions quite cleverly; and one of their charms with children is that they can treat them like sentient beings without a chance of being turned upon. They can scold them for being naughty, and put them to bed in broad daylight for a punishment, and seat them in the corner with their impassive faces turned to the wall, just as they themselves are dealt with; the doll all the time smiling exactly as it smiled before, its round blue beads staring just as they stared before, neither scolding nor cornering making more impression on its sawdust soul than do little missy's sobs and tears when nurse is cross and dolly is her only friend. But the child has had its hour of play and make-believe sentiment of companionship and authority; and so, if the doll can do no good of itself, it can at least be the occasion of pleasantness to others.

Now there are women who are dolls in all but the mere accident of material. The doll proper is a simple structure of wax or wood, "its knees and elbows glued together"; and the human doll is a complex machine of flesh and blood. But, saving such structural differences, these women are as essentially dolls as those in the bazaar which open and shut their eyes at the word of command, enforced by a wire, and squeak when you pinch them in the middle. There are women who seem born into the world only as the playthings and make-believes of human life. As impassive as the waxen creatures in the nursery, no remonstrance touches them and no experience teaches them. Their final cause seems to be to look pretty, to be always in perfect drawing-room order, and to be the occasions by which their friends and companions are taught patience and self-denial. And they perfectly fulfil their destiny; which may be so much carried to their credit. A doll woman is hopelessly useless, and can do nothing with her brains or her hands. In distress or sickness she can only sit by you, and look as sorrowful as her round smooth face will permit, but she has not a helping suggestion to make, not a fraction of practical power to put forth. When a man has married a doll wife he has assigned himself to absolute loneliness or a double burden. He cannot live with his pretty toy in any more reality of sympathy than does a child with her puppet. He can tell her nothing of his affairs, nothing of his troubles or of his thoughts, because she can impart no new idea, even from the woman's point of view. Not from want of heart, but from want of brains to understand another's life. Is she not a doll? and does not the very essence of her dollhood lie in this want of perceptive faculty at all times, both for things and feelings? What are the hot flushes of passion, the bitter tears of grief, the frenzy of despair, to her? She sees them, and she wonders that people can be so silly as to make themselves and her so uncomfortable; but of the depth of the anguish they express she knows no more than does her waxen image when little missy sobs over it in her arms, and confides her sorrows to its deaf ears. Whatever anxieties oppress her husband, he must keep them religiously to himself, he cannot share them with her; and the last shred of his credit, like the last effort of his strength, must be employed in maintaining his toy wife in the fool's paradise where alone she can make her habitation. Many a man's back has broken under the strain of such a burden, and many a ruined fortune might have been held together, and repaired when damaged, had it not been for the exigencies and necessities of the living doll, who had to be spared all want or inconvenience at the cost of everything else. How many men are groaning in spirit at this moment over the infatuation that made them sacrifice the whole worth of life for the sake of a pretty face and a plastic manner!

The doll woman is as helpless practically as she is useless morally. If there is any personal danger about, she either faints or becomes dazed, according to her physiological conditions.

Sometimes she is hysterical and frantic, and then she is actively troublesome. In general, however, she is just so much dead weight on hand, to be thought for as well as protected—a living corpse to be carried on the shoulders of those who are struggling for their own lives. She can foresee no possibilities, measure no distances, think of no means of escape. Never quick or ready, there is a total paralysis of such wits as she possesses in a moment of pressure; and it is not from selfishness so much as from pure incapacity to do otherwise that the poor doll falls down in a helpless heap of self-surrender, and lets her very children perish before her eyes without making an effort to protect them. As a mother, indeed, the doll woman is perhaps more unsatisfactory than in any other character. She gives up her nursery into the absolute keeping of her nurse, and does not attempt to control or to interfere. This, again, is not from want of affection, but from want of capacity. In her tepid way she has a heart, if only half-vitalized like the rest of her being; and she is by no means cruel. Indeed, she has not force enough to be cruel or wicked anyhow; her worst offence being a passive kind of selfishness, not from greed, but from inactivity, by which she is made simply useless for the general good. As for her children, she understands neither their moral nature nor their physical wants; and beyond a universal "Oh, naughty!" if the little ones express their lives in the rampant manner proper to young things, or as universal a "Oh, let them have it!" if there is a howl over what is forbidden or unwise, she has no idea of discipline or management. If they tease her, they are sent away; if they are naughty, they are whipped at her request by papa or nurse; if they are ill, the doctor is summoned, and they have medicine as he directs; but none of the finer and more intimate relations usual between mother and child exist in the home of the doll mother. The children are the property of the nurse only, unless indeed the father happens to be a specially affectionate and a specially domestic man, and then he does the work of the mother—at the best clumsily, but at the worst better than the doll could do it.

Very shocking and revolting are all the more tragic facts of human life to the smooth-skinned easy-going doll. When it comes to her own turn to bear pain, she wonders how a good God can permit her to suffer. Had she brains enough to think, the great mystery of pain would make her atheistical in her angry surprise that she should be so hardly dealt with. As dolls have a constitutional immunity from suffering, her first initiation into even a minor amount of anguish is generally a tremendous affair; and though it may be pain of a quite natural and universal character, she is none the less indignant and astonished at her portion. She invariably thinks herself worse treated than her sisters, and cannot be made to understand that others suffer as much as, and more than, herself. As she has always shrunk from witnessing trouble of any kind, and as what she has seen has passed over her mind without leaving any impression, she comes to her own sorrows totally inexperienced; and one of the most pitiable sights in the world is that of a poor doll woman writhing in the grasp of physical agony, and broken down or rendered insanely impatient by what other women can bear without a murmur. When she is in the presence of the moral tragedies of life, she is as lost and bewildered as she is with the physical. All sin and crime are to her odd and inexplicable. She cannot pity the sinner, because she cannot understand the temptation; and she cannot condemn from any lofty standpoint, because she has not mind enough to see the full meaning of iniquity. It is simply something out of the ordinary run of her life, and the doll naturally dislikes disturbance, whether of habit or of thought. Yet if a noted criminal came and sat down by her, she would probably whisper to her next friend, "How shocking!" but she would simper when he spoke, and perhaps in her heart feel flattered by the attention of even so doubtful a notoriety. If she is a doll with a bias towards naughtiness, the utmost limit to which she can go is a mild kind of curiosity about the outsides of things—the mere husk and rind of the forbidden fruit—such as wondering how such and such people look who have done such dreadful things, and what they felt the next morning, and how could they ever come to think of such horrors. She would be more interested in hearing about the dress and hair and eyes of the female plaintiff or defendant in a famous cause than many other women would be; but she would not give herself the trouble to read the evidence, and she would take all her opinions secondhand. But whether the colour of the lady's gown was brown or blue, and whether she wore her hair wispied or plaited, would be matters in which she would take as intense an interest as is possible to her. The utmost limit to which enthusiasm can be carried with her is in the matter of dress and fashion; and the only subject that thoroughly arouses her is the last new colour, or the latest eccentricity of costume. Talk to her of books, and she will go to sleep; even novels, her sole reading, she forgets half an hour after she has turned the last page; while of any other kind of literature she is as profoundly ignorant as she is of mathematics; but she can discuss the mysteries of fashion with something like animation, these being to her what the wire is to the eyes of the dolls in the bazaar. Else she has no power of conversation. At the head of her own table she sits like a pretty waxen dummy, and can only simper out a few commonplaces, or simper without the commonplaces, satisfied if she is well appointed and looks lovely, and if her husband seems tolerably contented with the dinner. She is more in her element at a ball, where she is only asked to dance and not wanted to talk; but her ball-room days do not last for ever, and when they are over she has no available retreat.

If a rich doll woman is a mistake, a poor one who has been rich is about the greatest infliction that can be laid on a suffering household. Not all the teaching of experience can make wax and glue into flesh and blood, and nothing can train the human doll into a dignified or a capable womanhood. She still dresses in faded finery, which she calls keeping up appearances, and still has pretensions, which no "inexorable logic of facts" can destroy. She spends her money on sweets and ribbons, and ignores the family need for meat and calico; and she sits by the fireside dozing over a trashy novel, while her children are in rags, and her house one scene of disorder. But then she has a craze for the word "lady-like," and thinks it synonymous with ignorance and helplessness. She abhors the masculine-minded woman who helps her—sister, cousin, or daughter—so far as she can abhor anything; but she is glad to lean on her strength, despite this abhorrence, and, while grumbling at her masculinity does not disdain to take advantage of her power. She is only negatively disagreeable though; and for all that she carps under her breath, will remain in any position in which she is placed. She will not act, but she will be passive; which is something gained when you have to deal with fools. This quiescence of hers passes with the world for plasticity and amiability; it is neither; it is simply indolence and want of originating force. While she is young, she is nice enough to those who care only for a pretty face and a character founded on negatives; but when a man's pride of life has gone, and he has come into the phase of weakness, or under the harrow of affliction, or into the shadow of the valley of death, then she becomes in sorrowful truth the chain and bullet which make him a galley-slave for the remainder of his days, and which sign him to drudgery and despair.

As an old woman the doll has not a charm. She has learnt no handiness, come to none of that grand maternal power of helping others which should accompany maturity and age; she has still to be thought for and protected, to the exclusion of the younger and naturally more helpless, as when she was young herself, and beautiful and fascinating, and men thought it a privilege to suffer for her sake. Nine times out of ten she has lost her temper as well as her complexion, and has become peevish and unreasonable. She gets fat, and rouges; but she will not consent to get old. She takes to false hair, and dyes, and padded stays, and artful contrivances of every description; but alas! there is no "dolly's hospital" for her as there used to be for her battered old prototype in the nursery lumber-closet; and, whether she likes it or not, she has to succumb to the inevitable decree, and to become faded, worn out, and unlovely, till the final *coup de grâce* is given, and the poor doll is no more. Poor, weak, frivolous doll! it requires some faith to believe that she is of any good whatsoever in this overlaid life of ours; but doubtless she has her final uses, though it would puzzle a Sanhedrim of wise men to discover them; and perhaps in the great readjustment of the future she may have her place and her work assigned to her, when the meaning of her being shall be made manifest.

THE SPANISH EXPERIMENT.

IT is not easy to say what the existing form of Government in Spain is, or how far it is even intended to be permanent. But, as far as anything can be made out, things look as if an experiment was being tried which must be of the highest interest to students of political constitutions. A person who is certainly not a King, and who does not appear to be a President, is called upon to name a Cabinet. His relations to the Cortes do not seem to be very clearly defined, but it looks as if they were to be of a kind quite different from anything which has yet been tried in the way of constitution-making. Such a form of Executive as seems to be intended would be quite unlike the Executive of any country now existing, whether kingly or republican. The peculiarity, if we rightly understand the case, would seem to be this, that the Ministry, the actual governing body, is to be named by a chief directly appointed by the Legislature, and, we imagine, liable to be removed at its will. This is something different from the forms usual either in a republic or in a constitutional monarchy, and it would seem to give the Legislature a greater, at all events a more direct, power over the Executive than it possesses in any known kingdom or commonwealth.

Whether such a system lasts or not, and whether this really be what is intended in Spain or not, the question is at least worth discussing as a curious point of political science. The form of Executive which seems to be intended is one which is quite conceivable in idea, though, as far as we know, it has never yet been tried. The power vested in the Legislature would be much the same as that which is practically vested in our House of Commons, but it would be exercised in quite a different way. We should always remember that, in our own system, what we call the Constitution, as distinguished from the law, is something purely conventional. The responsibility of an English Minister includes two quite different things. In law it means that his office gives him no privilege; that if, in the discharge of his office, he commits any illegal act, he is responsible to the same tribunals, and is liable to the same penalties, as any other man. But in the language of the conventional Constitution, Ministerial responsibility means something much more than this. It means that, though all his acts may have been perfectly legal, yet, if the House of Commons advisedly disapproves of him, his measures, and his policy, he is

bound to resign office. We have in short a system of what we may call unwritten political law, which no statute has decreed and of which no judge can take any notice, but which practically regulates the relations between the Executive and Legislative branches of the State. And what it comes to in the end is this, that the House of Commons does, in an indirect and very round-about way, but still practically and effectually, appoint and remove those who have the actual management of affairs. It does not directly name them; it does not directly remove them; but no Minister whom the House wishes to get rid of can remain in office against its will. Now we have always been led to think that this great control exercised by the Legislature over the Executive was practicable only because there was a power beyond and above all, a power which formally appoints, which may even exercise some personal choice in its appointments, but whose choice is still narrowly limited by the clear indication of the will of the House. In short we have always supposed that the House could exercise this power simply because England, and the States which in this respect have copied England, are monarchies and not republics.

For it is plain that in the chief republican States the control of the Legislature over the Executive is far from being so great as that which we have just described. We have heard over and over again that the Executive of a Republic, the President or the Executive Council, must be appointed for a definite time, and, good or bad, must be endured till the end of that time. As all the world knows, the President of the United States cannot be got rid of simply because Congress dislikes his policy, or refuses to pass the measures which he recommends. He may indeed be impeached and deposed, but only on proof of some definite illegal act. It has been said over and over again that a bad President must, with this last exception, be endured till the end of his term, while a good one cannot be continued beyond his term without a formal re-election. We know perfectly well that the President and Congress may be at open war with one another during the whole time of their joint legal existence, without either having any means of getting rid of the other. And this state of things has been over and over again contrasted with the power of the House of Commons to get rid of a bad Minister when it chooses, and to keep a good one as long as it chooses. To be sure this constitutional belief received a certain shock during the last Parliament, through Mr. Disraeli clinging to office when supported only by a manifest minority in the House. His friends, when twitted with this at the late election, used to answer that no vote of want of confidence had been passed against him. They conveniently forgot how many Ministers had resigned office without waiting for any vote of want of confidence, because the House had unmistakably shown its want of confidence without any formal vote. But their answer showed that, even in the Conservative view, a Minister must give way to a vote of want of confidence. And this is enough to maintain the principle. They admit that a vote of want of confidence, the effect of which is purely conventional, is enough to get rid of a Minister, without waiting for the legal effects of an impeachment or a bill of pains and penalties. And this is quite enough to mark the distinction. No vote of want of confidence can get rid of a President of the United States.

The Swiss Federal Council again, and the Executives of the several Swiss Cantons, stand in essentially the same position. There is every chance of the Federal Legislature and Federal Executive being on good terms, seeing that the Federal Council is elected by the two Houses for their own term of existence. There is therefore not the same fear of their clashing with the Legislature as there is when, as in the United States, the Legislature and the Executive are chosen by distinct acts of the people for different terms of office. How well the Swiss Legislature and Executive do work together is shown by the very small number of cases in which a Federal Councillor has failed to obtain re-election. Still the two Executives are legally in the same position. If the Swiss Legislature happened to disapprove of the acts of the Federal Council, there would be no way of getting rid of them before the end of their term, unless some illegal act could be proved against them.

Now we have always been taught hitherto that this great power on the part of the House of Commons was able to exist only because of the existence of the Crown. We have always held that it was the fact that the law placed the supreme power in hands which were not legally responsible, but which were constitutionally bound to attend to the manifest wish of the Legislature, which enabled the House to get rid of the virtual rulers in this easy and indirect way. The supreme power, we always held, remained untouched through all changes of those who acted in its name; its existence hindered the necessity of any interregnum, and even of any formal transfer of power. The real powers of government might pass from one set of hands to another without any disturbance of the common routine of things, without so much as any kind of formal election. The necessity of keeping on a bad ruler, the necessity of parting with a good ruler, were both of them avoided, and that because, beyond the actual ruler, there was the supreme sovereign, unchangeable and irresponsible. Whatever might be the other advantages of a commonwealth, it could not, we always argued, change its rulers at will or keep them on at pleasure, without revolution or disturbance of any kind.

The Spanish experiment, if its nature be rightly represented, is a bold attempt to grapple with this last difficulty. It is an attempt to do, directly and openly, what the English House of

Commons does indirectly and covertly. It is an attempt to have a Ministry without a King. Hitherto a Ministry, in our sense of the word, has implied a King, and a constitutional King. We say this, because it is clear that the Ministers either of a President or of a despot hold quite a different position from the Ministers of an English King, and a very inferior position. They are in fact Ministers, but not a Ministry. But in Spain it seems that we are—at least until the form of Government is finally settled—to have a real Ministry, but a Ministry without a King. They are, it seems, to be appointed by a person whom it is to be presumed the Cortes can appoint and remove. How, in such a state of things, are all those delicate points to be settled, which in England depend on no written law, but on a series of precedents applied to the circumstances of the case? In England we know instinctively when a Ministry ought to resign, but we have always thought that it would be impossible to define beforehand by statute when they ought to resign. It clearly is not a majority against them on any conceivable point which binds a Ministry to retire. Yet who could define beforehand what sort of a majority it is to which a Ministry is bound to yield? Who could undertake to set forth anything of the kind in legal form? But if the Spanish Cortes is really attempting, even for a season, to have a Ministry without a King, one would think that it must either attempt this very delicate piece of legislation, or else enter on a practical career of equal delicacy. A struggle between a President and a Congress is a great evil; but each party knows its own ground; each knows that the controversy must soon be decided by the legal death of one or other of the disputants. The nation, in its next election, Presidential or Congressional, will settle the matter one way or the other. So in England a frequent change of Ministries is a great evil; still the evil is much lessened by the quiet and almost underhand way in which the actual Government may be sent to the rightabout. But a Ministry without a King would seem almost to invite constant attack. Its position is theoretically quite intelligible; but one is inclined to doubt whether such a system could work at all—whether a Legislature formally vested with the power of changing the Executive at pleasure would not be always employed in discussing proposals for a change of the Executive, to the exclusion of all other matters of debate. The political student might like to see the experiment tried, as a chemical student might wish to see a chemical experiment tried, but the practical politician might be inclined to shake his head. Kings, Presidents, Councils, have all been tried; we know something of the working of all three; we know something of the good and the bad side of all three. But here is something wholly new. One doubts whether it can work even as a provisional system till a King is chosen, or till some other form of Government is agreed upon. As itself the permanent form of Government for a large country, it does seem a hazardous experiment indeed.

CONVOCATION ON THE IRISH CHURCH.

THAT the Lower House of Convocation should be a good deal excited on the subject of the Irish Church is natural enough. Not only are we disposed to make allowance for strong language, which is the legitimate expression of strong feeling, but in a certain sense the English Clergy in the person of their representatives were called upon to speak out. In their way, perhaps a small way, the Proctors to the Lower House were elected, by the suffrages of their constituents, to meet a direct issue, and to express the will and conscientious convictions of those constituents. Just as the House of Commons was elected with a view to the Irish Church question, so those members of the Lower House of Convocation who compose its representative element owe their seats at Westminster to a definite intention and purpose clearly enough expressed. In the case of the House of Commons and the people of England, the verdict was against the Irish Church; in the case of the House of Convocation and the Clergy of England, the verdict was against disestablishment and disendowment. On either side great men were rejected simply on this issue. Mr. Roebuck and Mr. Horsman lost their seats in Parliament because they were not sufficiently Gladstonian; Mr. Bramston and Dr. Vaughan have been summarily ejected from Convocation, because they were not able to pronounce strongly and distinctively against Mr. Gladstone. Under these circumstances, therefore, it is right and reasonable that the Convocation elected under such conditions of the clerical mind should pronounce as strongly what they were sent to the Jerusalem Chamber to pronounce, as that the Parliament men should say and do in St. Stephen's what they were expressly elected to say and do. It is idle, therefore, to find fault with the Lower House for being all but unanimous against Mr. Gladstone's policy.

But in saying this—and it is only fair to say it when such nonsense is talked about the ingratitude of the clergy in not meeting Mr. Gladstone's private courtesies and humiliations to them with instant submission to his Irish Church policy—we may be permitted, while we have not a word to say against the honesty and openness, to canvass the mode and form of expression by which the representatives of her clergy are discharging a duty which we are frank to say they could not decline. That the Irish Church question could be or ought to be shirked by Convocation has not been argued. The Upper House of course felt this. In their Address to the Crown the Bishops trod gingerly on the subject. They felt that the least said the soonest mended. That their utterances were characterized by that exceeding caution which bordered very nearly on

cowardice is not to be denied. Such a course as they adopted has its justification. At any rate the Address of the Bishops was very carefully and skilfully drawn. The paragraph may stand for a model of discretion; and we subjoin it, if for nothing else, as remarkable for its literary merits:—

We look forward with deep anxiety to the measures which may be proposed to Parliament respecting the Irish branch of the United Church; and we trust that the interests of true religion may not be lost sight of amid the conflicts of political parties; and we pray that, whatever course may finally receive the sanction of the Legislature, it may tend to that which all loyal hearts desire, the peace, the enlightenment, and the good government of Ireland.

This Address of the Upper House, sent down to the inferior clergy for their adoption, was drafted by the Archbishop, proposed by the Bishop of London, and seconded by the Bishop of Oxford—each and all of them pledged and declared against Mr. Gladstone's policy—and carried *nem. con.* and without discussion. At any rate this indirect suggestion of moderation and caution, to which so prominent a person as the Bishop of Oxford was a party, ought not to have been thrown away on the Lower House, which we are told "met in much larger numbers than usual, the Jerusalem Chamber being uncomfortably crowded." How it was met we shall see. Canon Selwyn, scarcely able to restrain himself from "proposing, as he had intended, a separate Address," contented himself with moving an addition to the Bishops' Address in these terms:—

We humbly and dutifully pray your Majesty not to assent to any measure for repealing, with respect to any portion of the United Kingdom, those parts of the great charter, of the 1st William and Mary, c. 6, and other statutes of the realm, which recognise the Christian Church as incorporated with the Constitution of this country, and which secure the rights and privileges of the Church. We also humbly pray your Majesty not to assent to any measure for alienating to secular purposes any portion of the property or revenues which have been dedicated to the maintenance of the worship of Almighty God, and the support of His ministers.

In explanation of one part of this proposed addition, Canon Selwyn read the words of the oath prescribed by the 1st of William and Mary, c. 6:—

"Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed religion established by law? And will you preserve unto the Bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the Churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain unto them, or any of them?"

King and Queen.—"All this I promise to do." King and Queen lay hand on the Holy Gospels, saying, "So help me, God."

After considerable discussion, this addition was carried by 36 against 15 votes; but, as we are told by the same authority which gives these numbers that more than a hundred members were present, it seems that one half of the Venerable House used the discretion of not voting. Many of them perhaps on the ground, openly avowed afterwards, that Canon Selwyn's addition was not sufficiently forcible. In the course of the debate some strong things were said. It was a strong, not to say a perilous, thing in Archdeacon Selwyn to quote the Coronation Oath—which, if we view its language as simply reciting and repeating the pre-Reformation formula, only means a pledge on the part of the House to guarantee to the spirituality such temporal possessions "as by law shall appertain to them"—and in which sense the term "Churches" only means the fabrics and estates; or, if we construe this word "Churches" in its Revolution sense, it must mean, what Dean Stanley would argue, the Presbyterian as well as Episcopal community, the Kirk as well as the Church. And it was a strong thing in Canon Selwyn to recommend the Queen not to assent to the Government measure if passed by Parliament. Still stronger was it in Archdeacon Denison to regret that Canon Selwyn's strong language was not strong enough, and to require that Church disestablishment should be treated as a sin and a robbery—a sentiment which the charity of Dr. Jebb made more heavy by craving permission, while "alluding to the sin," to "speak somewhat of the sinner." If even a Liberal such as Canon Blakesley, who himself "extremely regretted" Mr. Gladstone's policy, recommended in the interests of the Irish Establishment caution, and suggested that premature and violent language on the part of Convocation would certainly defeat their object; if the Dean of Ely, who went so far as to characterize the Bishops' Address as "singularly weak," had still so much common sense as to remark that "to ask the Queen to put herself into collision with both Houses of Parliament might possibly jeopardize her crown"—these wise counsels were met with a remarkable retort from Archdeacon Moore:—"Better jeopardize the Crown than destroy the Church." Again, if Archdeacon Grant suggested that the country at large had expressed itself most unmistakably on the question, and that the Bishops from their Parliamentary experience might perhaps know better than the country clergy what language was not only most suitable, but most expedient, to address to the Crown, he was met by a rejoinder from Canon Selwyn himself, in which he openly declared that "they, the Lower House, were as much Her Majesty's advisers, and as constitutional as were her Ministers." With these feelings rampant in the Jerusalem Chamber, as we have said, Canon Selwyn's addition to the Bishops' Address was carried, as was another proposed by Archdeacon Denison, who "could not vote for the last motion" (Mr. Selwyn's), because it was too weak and hesitating, and seconded by Dr. Jebb on the express and avowed principle that "the Queen had a personal right in the matter, as the ultimate authority in matters of law, and that this was an occasion when she was bound to execute the dictates of her own conscience, irrespective of any constitutional advisers whatever"; which, if with Dr. Selwyn we admit Convocation to be one of her

constitutional advisers, we believe and trust that Her Majesty will do. Archdeacon Denison, it is true, grounded his addition to the Address on the principle that the disestablishment of the Irish Church could not be effected "without repudiation of the necessity and value of the Reformation." But the value of this concession to popular feeling or prejudice—which, in fact, is, in this form, only a decorous way of shouting "No Popery"—is very much impaired when we find the same speaker in this very curious debate adopting the monstrous historical figment that in the sixteenth century "the nation solemnly adopted the Reformed Church as expressing the pure truth of God, as distinct from all aberrations on the one hand in the direction of Puritanism, and on the other in the direction of the inventions and corruptions of the Church of Rome."

We should much like to see this solemn rejection of Puritanism before it existed voted by the nation, and this authoritative protest on the part of the nation against Roman, or any other, corruption. We have heard of a Comic History of England, but the most comical chapter in it is not so comical as this popular and archidiaconal view of the Reformation as an act solemn, complete, single, accessible, definite, and well-considered. The Reformation never existed as a single act, nor can time or place or occasion be assigned to this solemn determination on the part of either Church or State to do anything more definite than from time to time to accept—sometimes with, but much oftener without, any formalities or legalities—the hesitating and fluctuating and inconsistent policy of Tudor sovereigns and statesmen.

It is sufficiently disheartening to find amongst a body of educated and influential men the prevalence of such dangerous fallacies as these views announced in the Jerusalem Chamber of the binding force, as well as of the meaning, of the Coronation Oath, and of the constitutional right or duty of the Sovereign to refuse the royal assent to the decisions of Parliament. In the face of such mischievous absurdities we can afford to smile at the puerile, if popular, view of the Reformation announced by Archdeacon Denison, which may perhaps be attributed, as the theatrical reporters say, to the novelty of his first appearance in the new character of a champion of the sixteenth-century worthies. But perhaps it is as well for the Church to have had it all out. The worst that can come of Tuesday's outbreak is the unseemly collision between the two Houses of Convocation, which has occurred, and probably was intended; and it is quite certain that the Bishops cannot give way. The best of it is, that the clergy generally will have opportunities of seeing what the convictions which, conscientiously, as we believe, they entertain come to when brought into the field of action; and, above all, in perusing the report of this debate they will have the opportunity of pondering over the wise and sagacious advice of such men as Archdeacon Grant, Canon Blakesley, and the Dean of Ely, who, while declared enemies of disestablishment, have not taken leave either of common sense or common prudence.

HALFPENNY CONSERVATISM.

THE heroic and invigorating spectacle of good men battling against insuperable odds has this week been exhibited in Scotland. It might indeed have been on view six weeks earlier, for the "Second Annual Meeting of the Scottish National Constitutional Association" was held as far back as the 6th of January. But Scottish Conservatives are modest as well as brave. They shun the glaring publicity so dear to a vulgar democracy, and the report of the proceedings has only just ventured forth from the congenial shade of a committee-room. Now that it has come, it has an undoubted claim on our notice. The speeches it records are honourably distinguished among similar productions by the frankness with which they recognise facts, and the unanimity with which they suggest a remedy. There is no attempt to disguise the low estate of Conservatism in Scotland; it is admitted to be in a very bad way indeed. "We in this country," said the chairman, Lord Dalkeith, "are in the unfortunate position of having been beaten almost everywhere. We have been thoroughly beaten this time, and it is almost human nature to feel a little downcast after such a defeat." But the heir of bold Buccleugh could rise above human nature; nay, he did not despair of making his audience rise with him. The advice which he gave to the meeting showed how firmly this noble confidence held possession of his soul. He calls upon the Conservatives of Scotland "to organize," but it is no prospect of mere tangible success that he holds out as the motive for their doing so. They are to organize merely to show their courage. Indeed, with Scotland in its present terrible state, it would be of little use to organize for any other reason. The Scottish people, as described by one of the speakers, "are wholly given up to Radicalism and Dissentism." The Electors have a prejudice against Mr. Disraeli which is "more than can be naturally accounted for by the merits or demerits of the subject." A certain amount of prejudice against him Lord Dalkeith seems to think reasonable. It is, we presume, "accounted for by the demerits of the subject." But the prejudice which exists is out of all proportion to the occasion. The Scottish Conservatives are consequently to organize simply as a sort of moral gymnastic. Their associations are to hold in civil life the place which that fine Conservative force, the Yeomanry Cavalry, holds in military life. If the latter were ever wanted for real service, the first thing it would have to do would be to forget the notions of

drill and discipline it has contracted during the periods when it has been called out for practice; and, in like manner, whenever Conservatism means business, its trumpets will sound a very different note from that which is now popular at "constitutional" meetings. Till then, both modes of employing time are harmless, and the latter has the advantage of not forming an item in the Estimates.

It is fair to say, however, that all the speakers at the meeting concurred in one practical recommendation. The political disease of the country must be treated homœopathically; the only cure that can be trusted to work on a Scottish elector is a hair of the dog that bit him. It is a newspaper that has made him a Radical; it is only a newspaper that can make him a Conservative. The secret, it seems, of the deplorable errors which pervade all parts of Scotland is that everybody reads the *Scotsman*. It is to be found "in every house, at every railway station, in every village." "People have unfortunately got accustomed to taking in the *Scotsman*." Lord Garlies, from whom we borrow this last wail, attributes the habit to the "general appetite for virulence and abuse"; but, whatever may have been its origin, there is no doubt that it has been thoroughly formed. The problem of the hour, therefore, is how to supersede the *Scotsman*. Unfortunately, to state the problem and to solve it are by no means the same thing. To begin with, there is a difficulty in the fact that Conservatism has already a representative in the Scottish press. What are the precise shortcomings of this journal does not appear, but we gather from the speeches at the meeting that it is not considered to be quite up to the mark. Of course this was not admitted by any one; on the contrary, every reference to it was couched in highly complimentary terms. It is "able and well conducted," says Lord Dalkeith. "We have been very much indebted to it," says Lord Garlies. But somehow these praises all end with the suggestion that a new Conservative paper had better be started without loss of time. There is an attempt, indeed, to take the sting out of this conclusion by laying great stress on the necessity for a weekly paper. Obviously, however, this is a very transparent expedient. It is the weekly issue of the daily *Scotsman* that has done all the mischief, and we presume that it would not be difficult to arrange for a weekly issue of the daily *Courant* if hebdomadal publication were the only element wanting to success. Even Lord Garlies, however, who constituted himself the especial advocate of the existing organ, thinks that it would be well to supplement it by a new weekly paper. He considers that if the Conservatives of Scotland "could start a really good organ not confining it to politics alone, but containing general news, and giving opinions on all subjects," they might do great good to the constitutional cause. To contain general news, and to give opinions on all subjects, are apparently such uncommon features in newspapers, that the mere fact that a new journal exhibited them would be sufficient to ensure its triumph. Perhaps, if Lord Garlies would extend his reading, he would find that the idea has been anticipated.

Sir Thomas Gladstone took a different view of the situation. He founded his hopes on the known preference of his countrymen for "spending a halfpenny instead of a penny." In his opinion, the only way to banish Radicalism from Scotland is to undersell it. The road to success lies in lowering the price of the Conservative journal "below that of the ordinary newspaper." The *Scotsman* exacts a penny from every purchaser. The Conservative organ that would supplant it must offer itself for a halfpenny. One obvious merit possessed by this scheme was pointed out by a subsequent speaker. The political depravity of the Scottish constituencies may be such that they will rather pay their penny for a paper they like than their halfpenny for a paper they do not like. But if the outlay even of the halfpenny can be spared, then they may be led to see a new beauty in the principles they at present reject. The last hope of Conservatism lies in a gratuitous circulation, and as this is a costly process, there is more chance of its being carried out on the necessary scale if two papers can be bought for distribution at what is now the price of one. Sir Graham Montgomery told a touching story of an elector—living too, "in a not very out-of-the-way part of the world"—who wrote to him the other day to say that, as he never saw a Conservative paper, it would be a great kindness to send him one. Evidently this man goes with the multitude and buys his weekly *Scotsman*, but he also feels that if he can screw a second paper out of his representative, it will be so much clear gain. In this way we dare say a good many copies of the proposed halfpennyworth may be got rid of. A frugal race may be trusted not to refuse so much paper and print when it is offered in this generous spirit.

One not unimportant consideration the meeting seems hardly to have taken proper account of. It is a pity there was nobody to remind them of the proverbial contrast between the ease with which a horse is brought to the water and the difficulty with which he is made to drink. Perhaps the idea did cross the mind of Dr. Andrew Wood. At all events, he warned his hearers that "it is utterly impossible to cram Conservative principles down the throats of Radicals." Conservative papers may be distributed by hundreds of thousands—that is only a matter of money—but will that ensure Conservative articles being read? Dr. Wood evidently has his doubts. Advertising agents—who, as a class, may be trusted to know their own business pretty well—have a theory, we believe, that it is practically useless to advertise in journals for which there is no genuine demand, inasmuch as the people to whom they are sent rarely take the trouble to untie

them. Even if this amount of labour should be incurred, it may be surmised that the principles which cost the recipient so much hard cash will be dearer to him than those which the postman brings him for nothing. Men value that most for which they have made most sacrifices. When the members of the Association have thrown away a sufficient number of halfpence, it will perhaps occur to them that no organ, however able or however cheap, could have averted their recent defeat. They need look no further than the speech of Lord Gailies for an explanation of its real meaning. "Of all the unfortunate questions," he said, "that could have cropped up, none could have been more so for the Conservative party than that of the Irish Church Establishment." As regards the Conservative party in Scotland, this is no doubt strictly true. The annual report of this Association speaks of its own indefatigable labours "to strengthen the attachment to the National Church, and to prevent the disestablishment of the Church in Ireland." But what identity is there in Scotland between these two objects? The National Church is pledged by its doctrines and history to regard Prelacy and Popery with a common abhorrence. The two are but different forms of the same enemy. The prelatical form may be much the more innocent of the two, but to ask the Presbyterian peasant to exert himself to keep it established is to ask him to choose the lesser of two evils, when he is as yet entirely unconvinced that there is any need for him to choose either. The multitude has none of that zeal for the principle of establishments which glows in the breasts of a few educated Erastians. It may struggle to keep its own Church established, and so far it may be, as in England at this moment, an appreciable element in the calculation. But it will never struggle to keep a Church which it dislikes established, merely for the love of an abstract theory. Supposing Presbyterianism, instead of Anglicanism, had been the established religion of Ireland, the present policy of the Government would evoke but a languid resistance among those Conservative Churchmen who are now so ready to see the Crown itself jeopardized rather than an acre of ecclesiastical property diverted to national uses. It will take a good many numbers of the halfpenny print in which Scottish Conservatism proposes to embark its fortunes to make Scotchmen more zealous in defence of Episcopacy than Englishmen would be in defence of Presbyterianism.

PROFESSORS AND TUTORS.

THE enthusiastic admirers of the new Oxford Statute about unattached students anticipate, as its ultimate result, something little short of an academic revolution. We have already explained why we distrust the accuracy of their calculations. The relief to men of narrow incomes will not be nearly so great as is commonly assumed, though the University has now reduced its pecuniary demands to the lowest possible standard. The late prolongation of the educational course, during which money is being spent instead of being made, will still keep away from the University poor students who are not going to take orders. And the relief, such as it is, will be purchased at the cost of those social advantages which many regard as the main inducement for going there. Travelling expenses, again, will necessarily be a serious item to those who live at a distance from Oxford; and they cannot cut the knot of the difficulty, as was very commonly done in the middle ages, by staying up all the year round. Nor is this all. The difference between Oxford and Cambridge, and the foreign Universities, which has led the latter to designate them somewhat contemptuously as *hauts lycées*, are too many, and too deeply rooted in national peculiarities and traditions, to be obliterated, or even seriously affected, by a relaxation of the rule of college residence. Our Universities, like our Public Schools and other kindred institutions, have become what they are through the slow growth of centuries, and the concurrent operation of various influential elements of English life and thought, which it would take us too long to examine or even to enumerate in detail here, and they can as little be transmuted into something else by a stroke of the pen as they could be reproduced to order on an alien soil. In the crisis of a great political cataclysm like the first French Revolution it may be possible to break altogether with the past, and start fresh with a paper Constitution based on the most abstract conception of the rights of man. But ordinarily it is not possible to re-mould a long-established institution on ideal principles, however admirable, and it is least of all possible in England. Historical institutions have a spirit and continuous life of their own, which is not indeed impervious to change—for change is a condition of all healthy life—but which will assert its substantial identity under all successive modifications of form. To import some hundreds of unattached undergraduates into the University—supposing, for argument's sake, that the expected hundreds come—will no more make Oxford into a second Heidelberg or Glasgow than the artistic energies of Louis I. of Bavaria could make Munich into a second Athens. And it seems very unlikely that a large number will come. Still it would be rash to hazard any confident prediction as to how many may avail themselves of the new opening offered them. And the presence of even a small minority of matriculated students who are not members of a college cannot fail, in the long run, to exercise some influence on the intellectual life of the place. It is worth inquiring what kind of influence this is likely to be, and how far it will tend to remedy or to intensify the admitted faults of the existing system. We have on a former occasion

expressed our belief that it will act, to some extent, in both directions.

There are, broadly speaking, two theories of the proper function of a university, which may be distinguished as the English and the German, though it must not be imagined that either view is maintained or acted upon to the entire exclusion of the other. And the name *universitas* is variously explained by the advocates of the rival theories as referring to the universality of the studies to be prosecuted or of the students to be taught. According to the former—or, as many Englishmen would be disposed to call it, the practical—view of the matter, universities are schools of the higher education, and their main, if not their sole, object is to train youths during the interval between leaving school and entering on the duties of active life. Their duty towards knowledge, of whatever kind, is not to extend but to diffuse it. We are not to look to them for fresh advances in scientific discovery, but for imparting to their *alumni* its ascertained results. Tested by this criterion, it may be admitted that Oxford and Cambridge have on the whole discharged their duty fairly in the education of the upper classes of English society, who will certainly bear comparison with the corresponding classes of any other European country in general cultivation and attainments. On the other hand, few standard works in any branch of literature have emanated of late from either University. Logic and history have long been specialties at Oxford, but Grote and Mill are not University men, though their works are text-books in the schools. A university seems the natural home for metaphysical speculation, and perhaps Dean Mansel's name may be pleaded in evidence of it; but then it must be remembered how much he is indebted to Sir William Hamilton, who did not write on the banks of the Isis or the Cam. Even in theology, which is far the most richly endowed of all the special Faculties both at Oxford and Cambridge, and which has alone among them retained any active life, owing to the close connexion between the Universities and the Church, there is very little to show. It is not long since the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford contented himself with delivering every term the same twelve lectures, and a similar practice still prevails at Cambridge. It is true that the great religious movement of thirty years ago originated at Oxford; but though in the University, it was not of it. Dr. Newman held no academical office, though the possession of a fellowship gave him leisure for theological studies which many others equally enjoyed but did not care to use. If, from the English, we turn to the foreign idea of a university, we find it is exactly the reverse. The German Professor quoted by Dr. Pattison, who said that a professorial chair would be a very pleasant position if it were not for the interruption of having to deliver lectures, rather emphasized the idea than caricatured it. According to this view the main function of a university is to prosecute scientific research; and professorships are founded, primarily at least, with the object, sometimes theoretically ascribed to canonries, of providing capable men with learned leisure for the task. And, as a matter of fact, all the principal German works in scholarship, history, science, and theology for the last half century have emanated from the Universities. That they have been equally successful in discharging the (as they regard it) subordinate function of teaching, we do not believe; and candid writers among themselves, like Dr. Döllinger, while considering universities almost a creation of Germany, do not hesitate to acknowledge that in this matter they have something to learn from us. He especially expresses his regret that the collegiate system, which survives at Oxford and Cambridge, has been lost in Germany. Considered, however, as corporations devoted to scientific investigation and literary activity, the German Universities have undoubtedly attained a splendid success. Whether, considering the marked distinctions of national character, it would be possible to get the same results out of our own Universities, and whether, if it were possible, the benefit would not be too dearly purchased, are questions too wide to be more than glanced at here. But we may say at once, what no reasonable man will be disposed to deny, that one object of endowed Faculties is to promote the study, as well as the teaching, of the special science to which they belong, and that this aspect of the professoriate has, with some rare and honourable exceptions, which will occur at once to every one, been all but wholly lost sight of at our two great Universities. Professors have not generally been required to reside, except when required to teach, and, before the reform of 1851, few besides the theological professors at Oxford delivered any lectures. Dr. Gaisford, almost the only English scholar of his day who had a European reputation, never lectured at all. The real work of the place was done by the college tutors, and is mainly done by them still; and if they discharge their educational duties with average conscientiousness—we need not say that many of them do a great deal more—they can have little time left for independent study. In one way the result of the University Commission has been to make matters worse in this respect. The abolition of the clerical restrictions on some two-thirds of the fellowships has at once made the circulation much more rapid and multiplied non-residents. Scarcely any fellow who is not actively engaged in college work stays up after his year of probation, and even lay tutors having no livings to wait for are naturally unwilling to let the best years of life slip by before commencing the duties of their profession elsewhere.

It becomes, then, a question of some interest whether the introduction of a new element into academic life, in the shape of

unattached students, will have any tendency to remedy this defect. Those who are most sanguine in maintaining the affirmative insist on the fact that it will undermine the tutorial system, and thus give a fresh impulse to the professoriate, which will have to be largely extended. But this is very far from being certain. There has for some years past been a sort of inter-communion established between several of the leading colleges at Oxford, so that undergraduates at one can attend tutorial lectures at another; and it would not be difficult to extend this system so as to include unattached undergraduates, if indeed it has not been already done. Every student in lodgings is obliged by the new statute to choose some Master of Arts as a tutor, whose business it would be to make some such provision for his instruction. Moreover, unless these students appear in much greater numbers than there seems any reason to anticipate, it is obvious that no important change in the existing system will be produced by their presence. But, if we admit the extremest hypothesis of writers like Mr. Bonamy Price, and assume that the tutorial will become merged in the professorial system, does it at all follow that this would promote the end in question? If the work of education is to be effectually carried on at all, it must consist of something more than simply delivering lectures to a silent auditory, whose bodily attendance alone is secured, and who may listen or lounge as they please; in other words, if tutors *eo nomine* were superseded, the new professors would have to discharge tutorial functions. Certainly they would not have to lecture *de omni scibili*, but would be confined to their own special subject; but this division of labour has been to a great extent carried out in several colleges already, and still it does not leave the tutor much leisure for private study. Professor Jowett is known to be one of the few college tutors who, without neglecting their educational duties, are also engaged in serious literary work; and there was a story current in Balliol not long ago, of his appointing a pupil to come to him with his composition from twelve to one o'clock at night, that being the only open hour he could command. It has indeed been suggested that a large staff of sub-professors should be appointed for the drudgery of the ordinary routine work, leaving the chiefs of each Faculty comparatively free for following their learned avocations. But it can hardly be intended that they should give no lectures at all, and we should thus come back to something very like the old system, under a new nomenclature—the head professors occupying much the same position as now, and the sub-professors stepping into the place of college tutors. Some sinecure fellowships might perhaps, as we have previously observed, be converted into sub-professorships, but that would be about the extent of the change.

We do not feel sanguine, therefore, as to any appreciable influence on Oxford, as a place of study for adults and a home for scientific investigation, from such a change of tutorial into professorial lectures as has been anticipated from the matriculation of lodger students. Nor do we think they will be numerous enough to bring about such a change as the result of their appearance. At the same time, the fact of their being there at all will serve to bring into prominence the academic as distinguished from the purely collegiate idea, and this may act as a reminder that a University has other functions besides those of a college. We have, however, to set against this consideration the fact that an increase in the number of students will involve increased demands on the teaching powers of the place.

There is another point of view, however, in which it is not inconceivable that the new comers may exert a certain reflex action for good on the University, in its scientific as well as its educational capacity. Putting aside those who come simply to qualify themselves for ordination, and who, as we cannot help suspecting, will be the majority, we may fairly presume that their motives for seeking admission will be of a more distinctly intellectual nature than can be predicated of full two-thirds of those who occupy the existing colleges. And the infusion of fresh blood of this kind, even in very small proportions, cannot fail to act beneficially on the system. Every little that tends to strengthen the studious as opposed to the luxurious or purely athletic element in the University is a gain. If it helps to raise the minimum standard of pass examinations, and to shame a larger moiety than at present out of sinking below that minimum, some good will be done. But, moreover, a further effect may be produced if men of a really intellectual stamp and with a keen thirst for knowledge are brought up to the University. Professors will not like to find in their classes "a chiel taking notes" of the deficiency of their attainments in their own subject-matter, or instituting disagreeable comparisons between what he learns from their lectures and what he has learnt from men or books elsewhere. The number of active-minded men, with a genuine love for learning, who will devote their lives to scientific study and investigation purely for its own sake, is much smaller than most theorists are willing to believe. The law of demand and supply holds good here quite as much as anywhere else. Men do not, as a rule, spend years in investigating the deeper problems of theology, or metaphysics, or mathematics, from abstract devotion to the subject, any more than they enter on the study of law or medicine, however they may be drawn to it by their own mental tastes, without the expectation of tangible results. To choose a suitable man for a chair, endow him richly, and relieve him from the pressure of active duties, will not secure his leading the life of a Newton or a Faraday. Some outward stimulus is required; and one main stimulus, both for good and for evil, in the present day, is the

charm of notoriety. Few persons in public positions are so unambitious as to have no regard for fame, and fewer still are so callous as to be indifferent to the reproach of feebleness or mediocrity. The productive energy of Oxford and Cambridge professors will not rise to the standard of their German brethren until unproductiveness is felt to be a discredit. If the introduction of a new class of students to our ancient seats of learning should contribute towards the general recognition of such an estimate of professorial obligations, they will be entitled to the gratitude both of the University and the country.

METROPOLITAN RATING.

THE Poor-law furnishes an eminent example of our national genius for muddling. The complications of other portions of our law are ascribed, more or less reasonably, to its antiquity; but no part of the Poor-law is older than the time of Queen Elizabeth, and by far the greater part of it belongs to the last and present centuries. The existing confusion prevails alike in the department of fact and in that of words, and Parliament has failed equally in forming a distinct purpose and in expressing it intelligibly.

The President of the Poor-Law Board has undertaken to reduce to order that region of chaos in which rates are levied upon the inhabitants of the metropolis. A measure was prepared and carried two years ago, by Mr. Gathorne Hardy, for placing certain charges which had hitherto been borne by individual parishes, or unions, upon a common fund. Mr. Hardy showed convincingly the expediency of this arrangement, to which, indeed, there can be no possible objection except this, that means do not exist for raising a common fund equitably. If we consider how arate is to be imposed, we shall find ourselves called upon to settle, first, what kinds of property shall be rated, and secondly, what values shall be placed upon them. So long as each parish managed its own affairs and bore its own burdens, both these questions might be answered in almost any manner that could be suggested by accident or caprice. To the first question, however, the same answer was pretty generally given in all parishes; but to the second question the variety of answers was inexhaustible. Taking, for example, the commonest description of rateable property—namely, a house—you might argue without end as to the principle upon which its rateable value was to be ascertained. The lower you fixed the value, the higher you must make the rate; but while the parish continued independent of all other parishes it mattered not, speaking generally, whether you fixed the value of its houses low or high, provided you fixed the value of all of them upon the same principle. But as soon as it is arranged that two or more parishes shall contribute to a common fund, it becomes necessary that they should agree as to the principle of imposing the rates by which this fund is to be raised. Now in the metropolis this has not been done, and we are told that it would take five years to do it. In order to arrive at the rateable value of a house, you must determine what you will take as its gross annual value, and what deductions you will allow from that value. Mr. Goschen states that in the metropolis at present not only is there the greatest variety with regard to the deductions allowed, but also with regard to the manner in which the "gross estimated rental" is arrived at. One parish or union may complain against another, and even within a parish one class of occupiers may complain that its rental is estimated too highly as compared with others. We will not, however, at present concern ourselves with controversies which arise within particular parishes, but will keep to the consideration of Mr. Goschen's proposal for adjusting among the parishes and unions the burden of the common fund. We shall probably not be wrong in assuming that in future years the charges to be imposed upon this fund are likely to increase, and it is therefore highly important to provide that the burden of contributing to it should, if possible, be equitably adjusted. To make this adjustment completely and satisfactorily it would be necessary to take a fresh valuation of all the rateable property in the metropolis, and this would occupy five years, and would cost a sum of money which we are not told, but can perhaps imagine. The amount of the charges on the common fund compared with the total charge for the metropolitan poor is at present so small that it could not be worth while to undertake the troublesome and costly process of a fresh valuation in order to adjust this burden. But if the process were undertaken and completed, the tendency to place fresh charges on this common fund, of which the burden had been thus carefully adjusted, would be irresistible; and thus considerable progress would be made towards the result which is aimed at by those who demand equalization of poor-rates. Mr. Goschen's Bill, however, only provides that the adjustment shall be made roughly and imperfectly; and, indeed, it would hardly be unfair to say that he imposes on his own Board a duty which resembles that of making bricks without straw. It is unnecessary to remind householders in the metropolis that they pay other rates besides poor-rates. All these rates, however, are levied upon the basis either of the poor-rate or of the county-rate. There are, therefore, these two bases, and only these, available for the adjustment of the burden of the common fund, and it appears from Mr. Goschen's statement that one of them would be as unsatisfactory as the other. But when the Central Assessment Board which is to be constituted under this Bill proceeds to perform its duties, it must either adhere to the poor-rate valuation, which is employed at present, or adopt the county-rate valuation,

or proceed by some arbitrary method which will hardly content those who suffer by its application. In the parish of Poplar the amount of the existing valuation for poor-rate is 417,000*l.*, while for county-rate it is 344,000*l.* That parish, therefore, either pays too much towards the common fund for poor relief, or it pays too little towards the expenses of the Metropolitan Board of Works, which are levied upon the basis of the county-rate. We can hardly suppose that the Assessment Board for a Poor-law purpose would resort to the basis of the county-rate; and if it did, the difficulty of its task would hardly be diminished, because the metropolis extends into four counties—namely, Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, and the City of London; and in these different jurisdictions the county-rate is made by different bodies, and on different principles.

In each of the Metropolitan Unions there is now an Assessment Committee. It is proposed that a similar committee should be established in each of the parishes not comprised in any union. Representatives from all these committees will constitute the Central Assessment Board, and this Board will fix the amount of the valuation upon which each parish and union is to be assessed to the common fund. Every parish and union will have a right of appeal against the assessment made upon every other parish and union, and a paid assessor of the Board is to be appointed to decide these appeals. How he will decide them heaven knows. We will suppose the probable case of an appeal by an East-end parish against the assessment of St. George's, Hanover Square. In East-end parishes it has been found necessary to screw up the valuations in order to obtain the largest possible produce from the rates. In West-end parishes there has been no occasion to raise the valuations, and some supposed advantage in keeping them down. It may probably be true that the valuation of St. George's, Hanover Square, is low compared with the valuations of East-end parishes, and that for the equitable imposition of a rate to meet the charges on the common fund the valuation of St. George's, Hanover Square, ought to be raised. Anybody might say as much as this, but the paid assessor will have to say by how much the valuation of St. George's ought to be raised. It may be that, for the purpose of comparison between, we will say, Poplar and St. George's, Hanover Square, the county-rate would afford a guide, because we may suppose that the same principle of valuing property was followed throughout the county of Middlesex, whatever that principle may have been. But, if we attempt to compare Lambeth with St. George's, the county-rate fails us as a guide, because we have no reason to suppose that the same principle of valuation was followed in Surrey as in Middlesex, and indeed Mr. Goschen tells us that the principle was different. It seems to us, therefore, that the proceedings of this Central Assessment Board under its paid assessor will be left very much to the good pleasure of the gods; but we are far from meaning to urge the probable imperfection of the Board's work as a reason why it should not work at all. The paid assessor will decide that the total valuation of a particular parish or union must be raised by a certain sum. It will then be the duty of the Assessment Committee of that parish or union to raise proportionally the valuations of all the properties comprised in it. We do not know whether those which we will call individual valuations, having been thus raised for the purpose of assessing the rate for the common fund, will be kept at the higher figure for the purpose of assessing ordinary poor-rate; but we should suppose they would be, for otherwise we might have a house bearing one value for the ordinary poor-rate, another for the rate for the common fund, a third for the county-rate, and perhaps a fourth for the house duty. Mr. Goschen seems to suppose that the individual, or as he calls them, tenement valuations, will become the basis of rating for all purposes, and he forgets that these valuations, for which he is thus disposed to claim authority, will only have been arrived at by a process for which we shall take the liberty to coin the word "backwardation."

The Central Assessment Board determines, we will say, that the total valuation of a particular parish shall be raised in the proportion of three to two. Hereupon it will be the duty of the Assessment Committee of this parish to raise in the same proportion every individual or tenement valuation in the parish. If the Committee must do this as a matter of course, it is idle to inquire upon what principle they do it; and, therefore, that part of Mr. Goschen's Bill which lays down a principle for individual valuation appears to be inapplicable to his present purpose. The Bill contains a schedule of deductions which may be allowed from the gross estimated rental of a tenement in order to arrive at its rateable value. If a new valuation of all the rateable property of the metropolis is to be made, this schedule of deductions will be most important; but Mr. Goschen says that a new valuation is not to be made, because it will take a long time to make, and cost a great deal of money. It is odd that Mr. Goschen should expect a valuation arrived at in the happy-go-lucky sort of way which he proposes to supersede the county-rate valuation for the purposes to which that valuation is now applicable. However, we entirely agree with Mr. Goschen that there ought to be one uniform valuation for all purposes of rating, and if we remark that his Bill does not promise this result, he may answer that this was not its primary intention. He undertook to make a more equitable adjustment of the burden of the common fund, and in this he has succeeded.

OUR PROSPECTS FOR GOOD FRIDAY.

WE are promised a revival of what some people may consider the principle of Good Friday. The Reform League intends that here in London we shall spend it as a day of most unquestionable humiliation, in every sense of the word. Just as from the Vatican, or other centres of ecclesiastical authority, emanates an authorized pastoral as to the proper observance of a day of fasting, so from the Nag's Head, Leather Lane, it has been—so the announcement runs—"definitely settled that the demonstration in honour of the late Ernest Jones should take place in Trafalgar Square on Good Friday, at five o'clock." A sketch of the details of the demonstration has been put out. It is at once cosmopolitan and authoritative, and has a certain aesthetic and almost religious propriety. The taste for pomp and ceremony has penetrated Leather Lane, derived perhaps from St. Alban's Church, which is, we believe, close by the Nag's Head. "Processions headed by bands of music," and tailed, we fear, by all the scum and ruffianry of London, "are to start from different parts of London and march to Trafalgar Square. The International Branch, the Labour Branch, and a Greek Branch would attend with banners, and a band of the members of the International Branch would sing in chorus in the procession." At present the sacred hymns to be sung have not been announced. The mention of a Greek Branch might suggest that the celebrated scholium reciting the heroic deeds of Harmodius and Aristogeiton would be revived for the occasion. The precedent of the obsequies of the Manchester murderers—we mean martyrs—celebrated by Mr. Finlan in Hyde Park, might give promise of a solemn dirge and sacred requiem for the repose of poor Mr. Ernest Jones' soul, were it not that the vocal powers of a London mob are more likely to subside into "Not for Joseph," or the roaring chorus, whatever it may be, which at the moment happens to be popular in Whitechapel and Wapping. But, whatever the details of the rites, there can be no mistake about the general effect which the demonstration ordered by the Reform League contemplates. The Congregation of Public Rites, or the Provisional Government—for it is well to speak of them in either capacity, and recognise at once both their political and ecclesiastical authority—have decided that the capital city of the British Empire is to celebrate Good Friday next as they shall direct. They intend to occupy in force the very centre and heart of our civilization—Trafalgar Square. They propose, as far as in them lies, to make, on the most sacred hours of the Christian year, the main streets of London hideous with a grimy tag-rag and bobtail composed of most of the fools and all the rogues who on that particular day choose to find nothing else to do than run the chance of assisting in a general disturbance. The dictators of the Nag's Head are prepared to insult all right feeling by a wretched caricature of a religious observance, and to stun us with brass bands and brutal chorusses. All this on Good Friday; and, as though to provide every certainty of general annoyance, and possibly of public danger, they have fixed upon the hour of five o'clock—which of course will be six, that is, the fading twilight of early spring—on the 26th of March, for their demonstration.

And what is that they are going to demonstrate? In a stupid sort of way, there was some kind of meaning in the Beales and Potter demonstrations; and even in the contemptible failure of the Funeral March in honour of the Manchester murderers there was at least a venomous and mischievous sympathy with actual miscreants. But poor Mr. Ernest Jones—what had he ever done that his memory, or the feelings of his family, should be outraged by this silly, though mischievous, violation of all decency? Mr. Jones was a fanatic, but not altogether of the vulgar sort. Born and bred a gentleman, he could have no sympathy with Finlan and Lucraft, the president of the Leather Lane Leaguers. If Mr. Jones ever consented to a mob-meeting in Trafalgar Square, it was for objects very different from this. But to say all this is rather to waste words. Time, place, and purpose—matter and manner—all are so contemptible that there is not the least likelihood that the demonstration will take place. As on a previous occasion, the police will, it may be presumed, not suffer a crowd to collect or a procession to be formed; and were it to be arranged, as in the case of the mock obsequies of the Manchester murderers, a few hundreds of dirty boys and fanatics would be all that would really feel any interest in the avowed object of the procession.

It is perhaps as well that the attempted revival of these London processions should take a form which, while it provokes the disgust of all decent people, at the same time can only be met with ridicule and contempt, and perhaps indignation, from the better sections of the League itself. Mr. Beales will be wanting in that sort of dignity which he has more than once affected, or perhaps really felt, if he does not denounce the wicked folly contemplated by his tail. But something remains to be said. That such a puerile display should even be announced shows that there is something wrong. A day or two ago a numerous deputation of Strand tradesmen groaned in dismal strains of lamentation before Colonel Henderson. Since the conventional wailing of the chorus at the end of a Greek tragedy, we do not remember anything so monotonously and tediously mournful as the sorrows of the Strand. The trade of the Strand had collapsed; the Strand by day was occupied in force by hordes of newsboys plying their vocations of dispensing halfpenny newspapers and tossing for the receipts, and by sturdy troops of more adult gamblers watching the odds at the windows of the Sporting Press. If we are to believe these much-suffering shopkeepers, the Strand is all day long rendered hideous by gaming, and all night by prostitution. But, says Colonel

Henderson, what am I to do? A nuisance may be annoying, as the etymology seems to suggest, but quite legal. The street trade in newspapers is especially protected by Act of Parliament; the street trade in harlotry is, if not especially protected by statute, condoned by the great principle of the liberty of the subject. As to placards and walking advertisements and handbills, they are not to be prohibited unless immoral; and the Anatomical Museums and the Revelations of a Nunnery are not pronounced, by the police, to be immodest or offensive to decency. Shouting is not illegal; begging is very hard to prove; a crowd causing an obstruction is difficult to define; magistrates differ; the courts of Police and Sessions, as in the instance of the night-houses near the Haymarket, are in direct conflict. Altogether Colonel Henderson says but little to assuage the woes of the melancholy men of the Strand.

They rejoin that the state of things from which they suffer is a disgrace to civilization and to the first street of the first capital in Europe. Well; we have heard all this before, and all the capitals in Europe seem to suffer under what is always their special and particular disgrace. But to say this is not quite equivalent to doing nothing. At the present moment we are doing something. Every day we confiscate—so the police reports tell—at least a dozen of “indecent valentines,” sold chiefly in the suburbs. As we never happened to see an indecent valentine, we cannot perhaps appreciate the full importance of the present activity of the police, or the extent of the social evil which they are so vigorously and rigorously suppressing. Judging from the trifling nuisances which they do not deal with, we can quite understand the extent of the moral evil with which they are so successfully contending. Seeing that Holywell Street is the Holywell Street which it has always been—a trifle not worth mentioning—the indecent valentines at Mile End and the Hackney Road must be very bad indeed. But whether the particular nuisance against which authority is at the moment displaying its and the law’s terrors is or is not so very abominable is less important than the fact that where there is a will in these matters there is a way. Apply this to such an incident as the threatened Ernest Jones demonstration. If indecent valentines are a public nuisance, *à fortiori*—nay, *à fortissimo*—is this demonstration from the Nag’s Head. If the little scamps tossing for coppers in the Strand are a disgrace to our civilization, what force of language is left for us to condemn this grotesque Good Friday indecency? If public morals are injured, and private interests ruined, by the present state of the Strand, what about the projected and intended, planned and concerted, raid of ruffianism on all London next Good Friday? Mr. Bruce and Colonel Henderson have a great future before them—will they use their opportunities? We shall see; and this Good Friday affair may perhaps test them. We have all of us had enough of these street demonstrations in London. Even under Beales and Potter they became contemptible; but the fact that a thing is contemptible is no reason why it should exist. The immoral valentines may be thought to be contemptible; but the law in this case disregards the motto *Aquila non capiat muscas*. And we have no objection to the eagle catching flies, so that he slaughters superior vermin also. By all means burn the valentines, but at the same time let decent folk have Good Friday to themselves, at least in peace and quietness, if not in religious retirement and rest. The short petticoats at the ballet might reasonably be lengthened; but if we do not like the public exhibition of young women’s legs on the stage we may stay at home. But the Nag’s Head Leaguers will not let us be quiet. The Trafalgar Square people deprive us whenever they please only just of all our streets. As often as they like they may sweep up into one grand body all the villany and crime-producing strength of three millions of people. At present not much harm has come of these monster meetings, except the little matter of the Park railings, and that other trifle which followed from it—the knowledge imparted to the criminal classes of London, both of their own strength and their impunity. Lord Kimberley has undertaken to edify the Lords—panting for opportunities to serve their country—with the disgraceful details of the increase of London crime, and is also ready with some attempt at a remedy. Among known evils, and prominent among these causes of the increase and the enlarged audacity of London crime, we take leave to call his Lordship’s attention—or, if not that, the attention of his brother peers—to the consideration how far the criminal classes are emboldened by the edifying spectacle of London, or at any rate of its chief streets and central sites, surrendered, if not to brute force, at least to the most dangerous elements of society, as often as it pleases such people as Finlan, or the patriots of the Nag’s Head, Leather Lane.

TWO-YEAR-OLD RACING.

THE question of two-year-old racing, as connected with the alleged degeneration of the British thoroughbred, has been nibbled at more or less for some time past, but has never till now been formally submitted to the judgment of the highest racing tribunal. Sir Joseph Hawley, about the most successful breeder and owner of race-horses on record, sounded the alarm by giving notice of a motion to the effect that no two-year-olds shall run before the first of July; and the challenge thus thrown down has already been taken up, amongst others, by Admiral Rous, confessing one of the first living authorities on matters connected with the Turf, and by Dr. Shorthouse, a gentleman who, not willing

that his light should be hidden under a bushel, describes himself as having spent far more time in investigating questions relating to the breeding, training, and running of race-horses “than any one else, living or dead.” We have said that the question of two-year-old racing must be discussed in connexion with the alleged degeneration of the race-horse, because nothing but a belief in such degeneration can justify the attempt to make so startling an alteration in the arrangements of the racing year as is contemplated. The *onus probandi* therefore rests on those who are dissatisfied with the existing order of things. They must prove, first, that the modern race-horse not only is unequal to maintain the form displayed by his predecessors fifty or a hundred years ago, but also has materially degenerated from that form; and, secondly, that such degeneration is owing to the system of two-year-old races. And we submit that they will have considerable difficulty in proving either of these points. Undoubtedly, Sir Joseph Hawley has individually derived considerable benefit from the practice of reserving his two-year-olds till an advanced period of the season, and he may be laudably desirous that other owners should for the future share the advantages which he has thus enjoyed; but other causes have also combined to produce his success—his great judgment and experience, for instance, as a breeder, and his prudence in not overtaxing the strength of his stallions. Nor should it be forgotten that he has himself not unfrequently deviated from the rule which he now seeks to lay down. Blue Gown was brought out as a two-year-old at an early part of the season, and did three times as much work in 1867 as either Rosicrucian or Green Sleeve. He was evidently intended to pick up what he could in the way of two-year-old prizes, while the great three-year-old triumphs were reserved for his more indulged stable companions. Yet what was the result? Rosicrucian, who only ran once in 1867 before the autumn, and Green Sleeve, who never appeared at all before October, were both useless in 1868; while Blue Gown not only won the Derby and the Ascot Cup, but kept on running throughout the year, and astonished the world by his extraordinary performance in the Cambridgeshire. Clearly two-year-old running and training caused him no harm; nor, so far as we are aware, have the labours of the last two years so overtaxed his energies as to render him unfit for renewed exertions during the present season.

But, leaving exceptional instances, which can of course be quoted on one side as on the other, let us ask whether the opponents of two-year-old racing have made out their case about the degeneration of the race-horse. They have two standing arguments—first, an immense number of horses break down and have to be put out of training at a comparatively early period of their career; secondly, there are no races now worth speaking of over the Beacon Course. Granting both these facts, they are susceptible of explanations that involve no acknowledgment of that degeneracy which is inferred from them. To take the second argument first, there are no races now over the Beacon Course, or generally over any course much exceeding two miles in length, because there is no demand for them, and consequently there is no demand for horses so bred and trained as to accomplish them. Half the pleasure of modern racing consists in seeing the race all through, from end to end, and in watching the conduct and movements of the competitors in the various stages of the contest; and there can be little satisfaction when the horses are started in an adjoining parish, and have to traverse three miles and a-half before they become distinctly visible. Our grandfathers might have enjoyed such a pastime and called it racing, just as they potted about in a big wood from morning to night, and enjoyed that, and called it hunting; but our tastes have altered, and the instruments and aids to our pleasures have been correspondingly altered also. If a revulsion of taste should occur, and an intense longing should suddenly arise for four-mile races, we fully believe that within a few years we should be able to provide ourselves with a sufficient number of horses well able to perform the duty required of them. But to argue that because we do not want a thing, therefore we cannot get it, seems to us to be begging the question. It is true that a few long races still figure here and there in the programmes of meetings; in every institution of any age there are relics of the past. But Queen’s Plates are a most utter farce. The horses walk and trot and canter just as they please for three-fourths of the distance, and there is a little show of a race just at the finish. The sooner they are abolished the better. The Alexandra Plate at Ascot we also consider a mistake. It is an attempt to force public opinion in a direction to which it is resolutely opposed; it is an attempt to make horses bred and trained for one purpose accomplish another totally different.

In regard to the number of horses that break down and are turned out of training at the end of their second or third year, we shall have more difficulty perhaps in rebutting the detractors of the modern race-horse. It is perfectly true that an immense number of horses do break down, and have to terminate their racing careers just when the promise of them is brightest. But these breakdowns are generally local, not constitutional—the results of accidents which cannot be avoided, not of weakness arising from degeneracy. Dundee broke down, but we scarcely think any one would say that he was a degenerate horse; and his son, Marksman, after being most severely injured on the leg at Tattenham Corner, only lost the Derby by a neck. It was a toss up whether Gladiator would tumble down as he descended the Swinley hill, or whether he would win the Ascot Cup by a quarter of a mile; but the largest breeder of the day does not perceive, in the local infirmity which abridged his career of triumph, any bar to his being a successful sire. Both Dundee

and Gladiateur remained what critics profess to consider a short time on the Turf; yet Gladiateur was never half trained as a two-year-old, while Dundee kept on running and winning as Mr. Merry's two-year-olds do run and win. There is obviously no panacea against accidents. Different owners have different objects, and follow different plans. Some work their horses, others spare them; the result is, not that the British race-horse is rendered more or less degenerate, but that the British owner of horses finds himself with a larger or smaller balance at his banker's. Mr. Percy Wyndham and those who agree with him appear to think that every injury inflicted on a particular horse is an injury inflicted on the breed of horses also. This is a great confusion of ideas. As to the injury suffered by two-year-olds that are unduly overworked from the beginning to the end of the season, we are quite of the same belief as Mr. Wyndham, nor do we think there is anybody who would entertain a contrary opinion; but we deny that those injuries incapacitate the sufferers from duly fulfilling their duties at the stud, or are calculated to deteriorate their progeny. "Several two-year-olds, in 1868," says Admiral Rous, "ran three times as many races as the celebrated horses in the last century performed during the whole course of their career. The natural consequence is, nine-tenths will be stumped up at five years old, but that will not affect the breed." The wonder is not that Achievement and Lady Elizabeth did not do more than they did, but that they were able to do half what they did. The curiosity is not whether "the celebrated horses in the last century" would have stood a year of such work, but whether they would have stood three months of it. The proposed legislation might very likely lighten the labours of a good many two-year-olds (though, if required, they could still be hurried through a long list of engagements from July to November), but we doubt whether it would in the slightest degree alter, for better or for worse, the character of the race-horse. By degrees, at considerable inconvenience and at considerable loss, horses might do the bulk of their work at three years instead of two; and they would probably break down then just as they do now, only a year later. For it is not the particular year in which the work is done, but the amount of work crowded into the particular year, that tells upon a horse. What our horses are set to do, bred to do, and trained to do, we believe they do as well as their predecessors, if not better; and we are fortified in this belief by the opinion of Dr. Shorthouse, which, though somewhat dogmatically conveyed, is deserving of the highest regard. He says, "The conclusion that I have arrived at is, that the horses of the present day are immeasurably superior both in speed and bottom to their predecessors of a century or half a century ago."

The real truth is—and even careful observers sometimes draw wrong inferences from it—not that we have fewer good horses than our grandfathers, but that we have more bad ones. The number of worthless horses kept in training for a time is legion; but we do not attribute this fact to the degeneracy of the breed, but in the majority of cases to the ignorance and avarice of the breeder. Carelessness in the selection of sires and dams, and greediness in filling the pockets with heavy fees at the expense of the strength and vigour of young and promising stallions—these are the reasons why there is so much useless blood-stock in the country, and these are the causes that will, if continued, do more damage to the breed than any amount of two-year-old training and two-year-old running.

We have not noticed the remainder of Sir Joseph Hawley's motions, because they refer more to matters of detail which can be discussed at another time. Nor have we touched on two-year-old running as it affects the morality of the Turf, or raised the question, much pressed in many quarters, of the obligation laid on the Jockey Club to protect and watch over the Turf's moral interests. For we are decidedly of opinion that the Jockey Club is about as able, either by its own example or by zealous exhortation, to advance Turf or any other morality, as to revise the Book of Common Prayer, or prepare the Budget for the present year.

REVIEWS.

LONGMAN'S EDWARD III.*

(Second Notice.)

THE issue of his first war with France had left Edward a beggar, his Scotch conquests lost, his military efforts the derision of Europe. The victory of Cressy, the utter prostration of the French power at Poitiers, made him at one bound the first prince in Christendom. Chivalry sought its glory in the two great battles which did more than all else to sweep chivalry away. It found its historic representative in a King whom, with a truer instinct, his French rival termed "the wool-merchant." It is amusing to see how completely throughout his life Edward assumed the position of "the king chivalrous," a king of tournaments and adventure, of feasts and lady-loves, and how completely the facts of his reign belied the assumption. Mr. Longman sees in a dim way the contrast as it etches itself out in the character of Edward:—

The character of the times in which he lived deeply impressed itself on that of the King himself, and is strikingly manifested in the purposeless character of much of his war with France. It was the venture-omeness of war, its

stirring strife and magnificent pomp, that delighted him, as it has delighted barbarians in all times. Possessed of a fine person, "having a god-like face," as an old chronicler says, he loved, like his prototype Alexander, to display himself surrounded by a gorgeous array of thousands of splendidly-attired followers at the Court of the Emperor, or of the King of France; or clad in singular but magnificent apparel, at feasts and festivities such as those which followed the establishment of the Order of the Garter. Courage he possessed in an eminent degree, combined, however, with no small amount of chivalrous rashness. . . . Of his personal character in other respects but few traces remain, and some of them are not such as to excite much admiration. Conjugal fidelity at that time was not considered a necessary virtue in sovereigns, and certainly was not practised by Edward the Third. In this matter it is but fair to judge him by the habits of the times, but his disgraceful subjection in his old age to a worthless woman was the natural sequel to a licentious life, and deeply stains the conclusion of his reign. That he was unscrupulously despotic is clear enough from the facts mentioned in the course of this history, and that he was cruel and revengeful is far from doubtful when his conduct to the burgesses of Calais is considered. . . . Manly courage and personal energy are the chief noble qualities that can be assigned to him. He had besides the questionable virtue of indomitable will. The commercial prosperity of the nation during his reign was great, and he deserves credit for laying the foundations of English manufacturing industry by his encouragement of Flemish weavers; but the progress made must be attributed to causes arising, unintentionally on his part, from the advantages of increased foreign intercourse, and from the concessions he was compelled to make to his subjects in order to obtain the means of gratifying his warlike passions and his love for inordinate splendour, rather than to a wise foresight directing the policy of his reign.

Policy Edward had none. Throughout his reign he was driven along by social forces of whose very existence he had no conception, and over whose development he exercised no control. At its opening he is the first baron of the English baronage, the chief of chivalry, the mere brilliant leader of a brilliant, worthless aristocracy. At its close he is, as Philip called him, the "wool-merchant," the king of the trader. The failures of the earlier campaigns, the exhaustion of the nobility, the breakdown of chivalry as a fighting power, had consummated the great revolution which for a century past had been raising the merchant class into an element of the State. As English history is written nowadays, we suppose we must not blame Mr. Longman that, in writing the history of Edward the Third, he has left unnoticed the great cardinal fact of his reign. But the truth is, that the whole history of England during the fourteenth century is summed up in the elevation of the merchant class. Evesham was the victory of the burgher as it was the victory of the baronage—a victory, in the case of the first, over democracy and the "minor populus" of the towns. In the greater political struggles of the Barons' war the communal struggles of English towns have been, very naturally, passed over; but in each the party of De Montfort was the party of revolution, claiming for the whole people a share in the commune, freedom of government, freedom, above all, of trade. In each the "majores," the greater folk, the landed proprietor of the soke or aldermanry, the wealthy member of the merchant guild, jealous of power, greedy of gain, are for the Crown. The triumph of Edward and feudalism over democracy and De Montfort was, above all, their triumph. In London, in every town, a merciless reaction followed on the momentary revolution. The leaders of the "minor populus" were killed, pillaged, exiled. All municipal power—the very right, now first becoming important, of electing members to Parliament—was concentrated in the burgher body. The guild-system, imprisoning trade within the same narrow limits, took an immense development. Steadily through the three Edwards the merchant class seized and strangle the old communal liberties of the towns. The great Rebellion of Bristol, under Edward II., represents the last desperate struggle of English democracy against the bourgeoisie. For good as for evil the new power leaves a deeper and deeper stamp on the new national legislation. The Mortmain Act, the greater facilities afforded for investments in real property, the improvements in police and judicature, the law of debt, witness to the advance of its influence. Under Edward I. a commercial spirit begins to tell upon public policy, to draw tighter the Flemish alliance, to dictate the sack of such a rival merchant-centre as Berwick. It is amusing to see those great heroes of chivalry doing the work of blood simply to satisfy the greed of the trader. Against his will the trading class forced Edward I. into his struggle with France; the Cinque Ports declared war and waged war for themselves, hearding the King and his Council with insolent defiance; "if wrong or grievance be done them, they will go seek through the seas where they shall think to make their profit." Edward gave in to the trader as he gave in to the noble; and the trader went on to wrest from him the expulsion of the Jews. The Jew was the King's purse, the one chattel absolutely at his disposal, the one financial resource of the Crown. But commercial jealousy was too strong for such a King as Edward. The traders are the new power of their day, jostling roughly with the older powers of the State. "We will sooner go to hell than be taxed," was the famous reply of the Dunstable burgesses to the menaces of the Church; and when noble marauders plunder Boston fair they are hung, noble as they are, imploring pity of the burgesses standing round.

This gradual advance of the merchant class under the first two Edwards brought it fairly to the front under their successor. It was a new day for England when a merchant vintner could entertain the King in his house by St. Martin's, or when (we do not notice the fact in Mr. Longman's account) in a tournament at London Edward figured as its Mayor, his two eldest sons as the Sheriffs, his lords as City Aldermen. Partly no doubt this sudden revolution was owing to the great development of commerce, as we see it in the regulations of the Liber Albus, and

* The Life and Times of Edward the Third. By William Longman. 2 vols. London: Longmans & Co. 1869.

to the new energy given to English manufactures by the emigration from Flanders. But it was still more owing to the utter collapse of feudalism. Every day made it clearer to the keen cynical trader that the great governing class, whose whole claim to govern rested on their fighting power, could not fight. Bannockburn was the first great revelation of their military incompetence; Crécy was the second. But the whole French war, its empty skirmishes, its pompous marches, its harrying and plunder, its merciless bloodshed, its utter want of purpose or aim or success, lingered on year after year as if to show the hollowness of the whole system. Charles V. only represents the universal sneer of the world in his famous instructions to the French forces not to engage with their opponents:—"Let them go. By burnings they will not come to your heritage; it will weary them, and they will all go to destruction. Although a storm or a tempest rage over a land, they go away and disperse of themselves. So will it be with these English." Such a fool's death as that of Chandos, such a massacre as that of Limoges, such an old age as that of Edward, showed the helplessness, the infamy of chivalry. But the collapse of Lancaster's expedition in 1373 was its deathblow. Never had knighthood started in a more imposing guise. The mightiest army England could pour out had simply marched across France without a blow, and without a blow it was turned by a few simple marches into such a horde as Napoleon brought back from Russia:—

Winter was now approaching and the country they began to traverse was bleak and barren. The Limousin, Rouergue, and the Agenois did not supply them so well with food as the rich country they had left; and they were sometimes nearly a week without bread. In the sterile mountains of Auvergne they fared worse; for they could get food for neither man nor horse, and their relentless pursuers had increased from one to three thousand. Their horses died in vast numbers; more than 30,000 are said to have marched from Calais, but it was a mere fraction of that number that reached the journey's end alive; the army was utterly starving, and, as Walsingham says, it was a miserable sight to see "famous and noble soldiers, once delicate and rich in England, without their men or their horses, begging their bread from door to door, nor was there any who would give it them." At last, about Christmas, after a march of six hundred miles through France, they reached Bourdeaux a horde of miserable fugitives.

But while the ruin of the war fell on the noble, its gain and its glory were reserved for the trader. The expedition which ended in Crécy was the result of his commercial jealousy of the flourishing Norman towns. Caen surpassed every English city save London. The drapers of Louviers looked down on the infant manufactures of our southern and eastern coasts. The sack of Louviers and of Caen, the three hundred rich citizens, the four thousand bales of cloth which the victors sent home as the spoil of the latter city (why does Mr. Longman omit such a fact as this?) consoled the burghers of Norwich or of Winchester. The world-famous siege of Calais was really a commercial act. It was the will of the English trader which fired the chivalry of England for twelve weary months beneath its stubborn walls. Edward was the mere mouthpiece of his good subjects of London in his expression of hatred against its citizens for "the damage they had done on the sea in times past." Calais gave the English merchant the mastery of the Straits, so needful for the Flemish trade. At home he reaped the spoil of the war, while knight and baron reaped hard blows abroad. "There was no woman who had not got garments, pins, feather-beds and utensils, from the spoils of Calais and other foreign cities," while the good wives of London "began to glorify themselves in the dresses of the matrons of Celtic Gaul." Capital had indeed a yet fiercer struggle to wage at home than even feudalism abroad, and one even more destructive to the welfare of England. From the time of Edward begins, as Mr. Longman has well pointed out, the great war between employer and employed, which still rages, though not with its old intensity, in our own. It began in the greed of the capitalist. Within the towns the merchant guilds stripped grade of all freedom, and built a gigantic system of monopoly on the ruins of the communal liberties. No theory is more ridiculous than the theory which looks on guilds as the bulwarks of commerce against the violence of feudalism. The very date of their power might suffice to prove that all danger from feudalism was past. The real danger was the danger of the people, of the small employer, of the independent workman, elbowed into serfdom by the narrowing influence of capital. The whole legislation of Edward's reign is directed to the artificial building up of a wealthy merchant aristocracy, to the ruin of the free trader. The class of little retailers, the middle-men of commerce, were attacked in the statutes against forestalling and regrating; the concentration of trade within the favoured staple cities was a fatal blow at the industry of smaller towns. But it was the guild system within these towns itself which most effectually destroyed the small trader. No man throughout Norfolk might buy nets, hooks, or other fishing instruments, except "owners of ships that use the mystery of fishing." Had Mr. Longman passed from Acts of Parliament to the records of London, he might have multiplied his instances of the oppressive inner legislation of the towns. But, great as their oppression was, it was as nothing compared to the oppression exercised by employers of labour without their walls. The Statute of Labourers remains the one great legislative act in modern history by which a governing oligarchy ever ventured to reduce a whole population to slavery. In the midst of Froissart's tales of glory or war, the reader hardly pauses to notice the ravages of the Black Death; but the mark of the Black Death remains on English society to this day. In a few years one half of the population of the land had been swept away. "The

sheep and cattle strayed through the fields and corn, and there was none who could drive them." Labour rose naturally in the market, and with the rise in the price of labour came the terrible Statute of Labourers. "The employers," as Mr. Longman fairly puts it, "combined to keep down wages by the terrors of legislation." A scale of wages was fixed. All aid, all charity, to those who refused it was made illegal. All secret hirings and contracts were forbidden. An oath to observe these ordinances was imposed on the whole of the labouring classes. They were imprisoned within their own county and restrained from seeking work elsewhere. By a Fugitive Slave Act, of unexampled atrocity, the whole rural population found itself reduced to prædial bondage, bound to the soil. "If any of the said servants, labourers, or artificers do flee from one county to another because of this ordinance, the sheriffs of the county where such fugitive persons shall be found, shall do them to be taken at the commandment of the justices of the counties from whence they shall flee, and shall bring them to the chief gaol of the said county, there to abide till the next sessions of the same justices." When the gaol failed, the Parliament tried branding. The escaped bondsman might be "burnt in the forehead with an iron formed and made to this letter F in token of falsity." It was to this that the rule of the triple oligarchy of the baron, the burgher, and the priest had brought England after a century of their sway. It is this which forms the terrible reverse of the history of Crécy and Poitiers. It was to escape from this that the great socialist risings under Edward's grandsons shook England to its foundation. It was the pressure of this that forced men to questions like Ball's, "When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?"—to Wiclif's inquiry whether a mere brute force like this was any legal power at all, whether dominion were not founded in grace, in something really worthy of the allegiance of man? Pauperism is one legacy which feudalism has left us; it was the Statute of Labourers, and not the dissolution of the monasteries, that forced on England the Act of Elizabeth. The bitter strife between employer and employed is the other. To every artisan, to every ploughman in the land, the one memorial of Edward's reign is not the thought of Crécy or the proud keep of Windsor, but something infinitely simpler and deeper—the gentle means of persuasion which the Parliament ordered to be made "in every township betwixt this and the Feast of Pentecost," the first sign of the warfare between labour and capital—the village stocks.

VESUVIUS.*

IT was in the second year of the present century that the trenchant and quick-sighted Forsyth, in recording his impressions of Herculaneum, ventured to deal thus summarily with the destroyer of that entombed city:—"Vesuvius is now an exhausted subject. Its fire and smoke, its glory and terrors, are vanished for the present. Ladies, as I read in the Hermit's Album, go down to the bottom of the crater. Naturalists, on comparing its latter eruptions, have pronounced the volcano to be now in its old age." And in a similar way, above nineteen hundred years ago, when the daring Spartacus encamped his gladiators in the extinct crater of the same mountain, its volcanic forces were deemed to be exhausted, although the barren summit bore obvious marks of igneous action in ancient times. But these intervals of rest, albeit in the former case extending over a strangely long series of years, were in each instance soon succeeded by violent outbursts, and in the more recent period by an almost unceasing activity, which has been continued down to within the last few weeks.

If we wish to speculate on the springs and links of connexion of these wondrous throes of the buried Titans, no other volcano in the world offers to the inquirer so ready an opportunity of observation or so detailed a chronicle of events. The proximity of the most startling effects of natural forces to a large and luxurious city, the graceful and picturesque form of the mountain relieved by the distant Apennines, its softly outlined base gliding as it were into the blue waters of the Bay of Naples, the contrast between the luxuriant vineyards upon its flank and the chaos of steaming ruin which crowns its heights, with the unique remains of antiquity which were buried by the first great eruption recorded in history—all combine to attract to this region, not only crowds of mere sightseers, but accurate observers drafted from all the civilized nations of the earth. Among these some have been occupied simply with examination of the actual phenomena, whilst others have attempted by comparison and generalization to reason upon the meaning of volcanic action generally, and to hazard conclusions as to the reasons of its varying intensity, and on the problematical approach to that decrease of energy which must in all likelihood some day or other reduce the Neapolitan volcano to the condition of its extinct brethren of Apulia, the Eifel, and Auvergne. Professor Phillips has after this wise been tempted to exchange the banks of Isis for the shores of the Tyrrhene Sea, to admire all that was offered to view in the early part of 1868; and thereupon—moved, we doubt not, by the farcical and inaccurate accounts supplied, for the benefit of newspaper readers, by "Own Correspondents" and by romantic school-girls—has printed the result of his studies, the first book, we believe, with the exception of Mr. Lobley's brief sketch published last year,

* *Vesuvius*. By John Phillips, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1869.

which for 120 years past has been produced in this country on the special subject of Vesuvius.

The name of the Oxford Professor is a guarantee for a readable work, a mellifluous flow of language, and a philosophical adjustment of opposing arguments on moot points. In these respects we are not disappointed; and, if hardly complete enough for a scientific monograph, the bright little volume, with its abundant woodcuts, may be commended to the attention of those for whom the somewhat dry though excellent pages of *Murray* are insufficient pabulum, but to whom the voluminous foreign Vesuvian literature is unknown or unfamiliar. The earlier chapters, on the history of the district and of its eruptions, contain a well-written version of the usual narratives, but we confess to being unable satisfactorily to follow the series of events without a better map than that which faces the title-page. It is true that Professor Phillips gives us there a clear but flat representation, in colours, of the areas over-spread by the lava streams of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries respectively; yet since the publication of the large-scale maps of the National Survey, and of M. Le Hon, we had hoped for such a plan of the mountain in an English dress as should enable the reader to follow out the details of the chief flows of lava at the more important crises, and to recognise all the localities, especially those mentioned in the text, which interest the investigator. Among the characteristic phenomena of eruptions, the author insists on the plentiful evidence which shows them to be commonly preceded by earthquakes, often of great frequency, and sometimes recurring at short intervals for years together. The general sinking of the water in the wells around the foot of the mountain is also one of the immediate forerunners of violent action; and the curious retirement of the sea from the shore, succeeded by its sudden return, is often observed over a moderate extent, although a doubt may be expressed as to the sufficiency of the explanation afforded for it:—

If any one will have the courage to admit an opening made suddenly through the sea-bed, occasioned primarily by the production of fissures as already described, he may understand how this might, in a limited space of the sea-coast, occasion both the withdrawal of the water and its return. The opening may have been an old one concealed or impeded in the course of time, and merely reopened or cleared, or made to communicate with a new underground fissure.

There ought not to be omitted the opposing and exceptional fact, stated in a letter of Palmieri's in the *Comptes Rendus*, that when the first disturbing movements of 1861 were forcing up the rocky foundations of poor thrice-ruined Torre del Greco, the water in the wells and public fountain rose higher than usual, and new springs broke out by the sea-side. On the commencement of actual eruption enormous volumes of transparent steam are vomited forth in rapidly succeeding globe puffs, which condense in the upper air into cumulated cloud, occasionally towering up to a height of twice or even four times that of the entire mountain. In the lower part of the column may then be seen at night the *fuoco* of the guides, in reality the reflection of the incandescent lava below; and here the author gently breaks it to the unlearned that the smoke and flame so liberally brandished before us in popular descriptions are but creatures of misapprehension, the so-called "smoke" being either the vapour of water or the showers of detrital lava, the ashes and dust often carried up with it to a vast elevation, whilst anything like real flame is of very unusual if not doubtful occurrence, and has been noticed in a few rare instances, and on a small scale, by only two or three competent observers. We could wish that, in this descriptive part of his work, the author had dismissed some of his exceeding caution and smoothness, and had manfully tackled the views of M. Charles Deville on the successive phases of volcanic action, for they are too important to pass without a far more distinct comment. Can it be confirmed that the eruptions take place along lines of fissure tending approximately to cut through the centre of the mountain? It so—and from *Ætna* as well as *Vesuvius* strong favourable evidence may be had—it is a capital fact to assist us in tracing back the action of the pressure which gives rise to the outbreak, in settling the origin of the dykes, still disputed by a select few, and in discussing the character of upheavals. And again, how far may we trust to the definite announcement of the French chemist, supported on a series of visits extending over many years, that the various sublimed products of the craters afford a sure test and scale of the distance, either in time or place, from the acme of intensity of eruption? Before and along with the outflow of the lava rise the hot stifling vapours laden with hydrochloric and sulphurous acid, and bearing up to the light of day the chlorides of sundry metals—lead, copper, and iron—which, with common salt, form incrustations in the chinks and rents, and in the cooling surfaces of the orifice. But when past the time or the focus of chief intensity, and when the red heat is no longer visible, the chlorides diminish whilst the sulphur increases; and further away towards the base of the slopes, and even out at sea opposite Torre del Greco, as also in regions from which intense activity has long died out, emanations of carbonic acid gas and the inflammable carbonated hydrogen are the last products which reach the surface, and tell therefore either of remoteness from the centre of excitement or of the phase of comparative inactivity.

On another point of research, open in great part to settlement by the aid of documentary evidence, Professor Phillips expresses himself with more decision. He has constructed tables showing for every century since the sixth before the commencement of our era, in parallel columns, the frequency of eruptions from *Ætna*, from *Vesuvius*, and from the Phlegrean fields, and concludes that

from it we may infer a "general reciprocity of eruptions and some evidence of a common underground connexion." For ourselves, we own to remaining unconvinced by his tabular statements. The connexion can only be taken in a very secondary and modified sense, for although the whole South Italian region, from the Latian hills down through Sicily and away to Pantellaria, doubtless owes its various outbursts of volcanic force to one deep-seated source, we cannot believe in any direct communication between their fluid lavas when the great difference between their ejected products is borne in mind. Neither the newer nor the older lavas of *Vesuvius* and *Somma*, on the one hand, will be confounded by the practised observer with those of *Ætna* and the cliffs of the *Val di Bove* on the other; and this in spite of the strong family likeness which unites by one bond the mineral products of all modern volcanoes, from *Hecla* to the *Pacific*. We grant that it is very seductive to the eye of fancy to trace out that a line drawn northward from the crater of *Ætna* through the western parts of the old eruptive islands of *Volcano* and *Lipari* in succession will strike the cone of *Vesuvius*, and that another carried from the same origin through the ever fire-breathing *Stromboli* will land us on the great extinct crater of *Mount Vultur* near *Melfi*; but the tendency to theorize will be somewhat checked on comparison of the ejected materials, and on recollection of the paradoxical independence of the main and subsidiary cones of one and the same volcano. Thus, if we look up from *Vesuvius* to the far grander scale of *Ætna*, we find the lavas at one time ejected from vents six or seven thousand feet higher than at another; and *Mauna Loa* affords a still more puzzling example, pouring liquid lavas from its summit, whilst in apparent defiance of hydrostatical laws the great crater of *Kilauea*, only sixteen miles away, and ten thousand feet lower, remains a quietly seething lake of molten rock.

We had also expected from so experienced a geological writer a bolder grappling with the vexed question of Elevation Craters supported by *Von Buch*, *Daubeny*, and *Abich*, and vigorously opposed by *Lyell* and *Poulett Scrope*. No one, we suppose, gifted with common powers of observation is likely to ascribe to the main cones of eruption any other mode of origination and growth than that of successive ejections, as maintained by the last-mentioned authors; but in contemplating the inner structure of *Vesuvius* it appears to us that our author has ignored one of the most telling phenomena—namely, the occurrence, in the *Fosso Grande* and the *Val di Leone*, of masses of marl and limestone charged with fossil shells—*Cardium*, *Turritella*, *Pecten*, *Ostrea*, &c.—of species which still live in the adjoining sea. It is true that these calcareous rocks are met with among the so-called "ejected masses" of *Somma*; but it may fairly be asked, is not this term often a misnomer, and must not these fossil-bearing fragments, cropping out at so great a height above the sea level, belong to beds once forming the floor of the Mediterranean, which were gradually raised from their original position into a mound of considerable elevation, either prior to, or contemporaneously with, the first discharges of volcanic material?

The concluding "views leading to a general theory of volcanic excitement" comprise a temperate and careful vindication of the doctrine of the dependence of igneous action on a state of internal fusion and on the gradual contraction of the globe; but this chapter is altogether apart from any results of the author's late tour. It is on this latter point, in the lack of a close personal investigation of the mountain, that we find the book defective, and it may be hoped that in a future edition more vigour may be imparted by an extension of experience. We believe, too, that a Professor has yet to arrive at a due sense of the dignity of his grand subject who tells us apologetically in his preface that so stupendous a department of nature "has been honoured (*sic*) by the special researches of" such and such authors, "and has interested" such and such others! Nor would it be amiss to submit his proof-sheets to the eye of the Professor of Modern Languages, that the mis-spelling of such words as *cipollino*, *Gacta*, *abbate*, and *bocche* may no longer act excruciatingly on the optic nerve of the reader.

THE STEPPING-STONE SERIES OF SCHOOL-BOOKS.*

ON more grounds than one we are glad to welcome this little book. In spite of the objections which may be urged against the form of question and answer into which it has been thrown, and although the arrangement of the matter might in some respects be improved, it is a good book in itself. So far as it goes, it will give the learner a real knowledge of his subject, while it will enable him to test the theories put forth on the growth of successive styles of architecture by facts which are plainly stated. In short, we have here a book which makes no attempt to hide ignorance under a veil of big words, or to throw dust in our eyes by repeating nonsensical axioms, or unblushingly laying down the law in the teeth of all evidence. This little work is therefore a real boon for the class of schools for which especially it has been written.

Over this class of schools there still hangs an air of mystery. So far as we can judge, the great movement for competitive examinations has not yet had any effect upon them. Our National Schools are more or less under the control of inspectors who are really educated men; and of the so-called "private schools" a certain proportion come under the influence of University local examinations, and must therefore do something more

* *The Stepping-Stone to Architecture*. By T. Mitchell. London: Longmans & Co. 1869.

than merely drill boys to give answers which have either no meaning or else a wrong one. But the schools of which we now speak flourish apart in some charmed region, and stagnate in serene content with a literature of their own. Of these books the happier boys who are sent to Rugby or Harrow or Marlborough probably know not even the existence; but they have nevertheless the stubborn reality of facts. They furnish the food, if it deserves the name, which is to feed the minds of a far larger number of Englishmen than make up the whole body of the learned professions; and a glance at the contents of a few of them is enough to give us some notion of its utterly indigestible nature. The mere sight of these pages is a weariness to the flesh and to the spirit even of those who may take them up as curiosities with which they have no personal concern; but it is impossible that they can realize the miseries of a boy who is crammed with such stuff, if he has mind and power of thought, or the deadly lethargy into which it must plunge him if he has none. The feeling of pity for these victims of our own flesh and blood is natural; but our interest runs in the same path with our humanity. We cannot allow these schools to go on undisturbed a moment longer than is unavoidable; and, however hopeless the task may appear, we shall return from time to time to the assault, till the walls of Jericho fall down. The publication of Mr. Mitchell's *Stepping-Stone to Architecture* gives some ground for thinking that our labour will not in the end be fruitless. Any book which is honestly meant to impart real knowledge, and the means of attaining more, will, if introduced into a school where the books used are bad, be like the putting of a new cloth on an old garment. The rent will be made worse; and the teachers will find that either they must return to their old rags and steadily refuse to give them up, or they must dress themselves in new and sound raiment.

We are sanguine enough to look for the former of these results in the case of the series of manuals or catechisms to which the *Stepping-Stone to Architecture* belongs in appearance, but with which it has nothing in common beyond its wrapper. We even dare to hope that it may lead to the expulsion of certain greater offenders from a field which they have long choked with tares. How hard it is to drive them out, few know. The demand for Mr. Butler's wonderful *Spelling-book*, on which we disburdened our consciences some years ago, is, we believe, very little abated. Mr. Hunter's *Art of Paraphrasing* still teaches boys and girls the delightful art of spoiling everything they touch. Under his guidance, the farewell of Adam to Eden—

Fit haunts of Gods, where I had hoped to spend,
Quiet, though sad, the respite of that day
That must be mortal to us both—

may still be transmuted in the Latinizing cauldron into an adieu to "localities worthy to be frequented by celestial beings, and amidst which I had cherished the soothing expectation of spending in quietness, though mournfully, the allowed remainder of that day in which, by divine decree, we both must die." But, wretched as it is to find boys led to fancy that they understand Cowper's line, "How fleet is a glance of the mind," better by saying, "How rapid is the transition of thought," much more serious mischief is done by a much more successful book—the *Historical and Miscellaneous Questions* of Richard Mangnall. There can be little doubt that the whole plan of this book is wrong from beginning to end. Greek, Roman, and English History, Geography, Astronomy, are large subjects, and it is impossible to travel over them to any good purpose within the scant measure allotted to each in that volume. Nor is it of the slightest use to fill a child's head with names which for him can only be mere sounds. If asked to "name the chief Grecian poets," he may answer, as Mangnall makes him answer, "Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Tyrtæus, Alcæus, Sappho, Simonides, Æschylus, Euripides, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Anacreon, Pindar, and Menander"; but this teaches him nothing, and it is much better that he should not know the names until he can attach to them some facts or some ideas. It is not here, however, that the greatest harm is done. The worst is that the boy or girl takes down, in a dogmatic form, a mass of statements which are either absurd or false, and they go away from their work, if they remember it at all, with the firm conviction that "the Egyptians communicated the knowledge of their discoveries in the useful and elegant arts to the Greeks, who afterwards made them known to the Romans," and that "Athens was founded by Cecrops, who, having landed here about 1,600 years B.C. with an Egyptian colony, introduced order among the original inhabitants." Naturally enough, they will talk glibly of Sesostris as "the successor of that Amenophis who was drowned in the Red Sea," although Egyptologists say that only his army was drowned, and the Pentateuch bears out their words. That Lycurgus enforced an equal division of lands among all Spartan citizens, that the laws of Draco were much more cruel than any passed before or since, they have no doubt whatever. Are not these things noted in the pages of their printed catechism, and must not the catechist know all about it? If he has any misgivings, will not these at once give way before the motto from Thomson which, prefixed to the Questions, tells him that, as he follows his guide, he is "conducted by Historic Truth"?

The confusion of ideas and falsification of facts can scarcely be carried further than in Hort's *Pantheon*, or *Catechism of Mythology*, which maintains its ground in spite of Dr. Smith and Mr. Cox. But as we have already* culled some choice absurdities from this

book, we will not inflict on our readers any further extracts from a volume which tells us "that Orpheus, Pythagoras, Thales, and other founders of Grecian philosophy and mythology studied in Egypt." Nothing can be done to improve such a book as this; the stable of Augeas can be cleansed only by turning a river through it, and sweeping away all its contents. It is true that in this particular matter the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is quite as absurd as Hort's *Pantheon*, but then all its articles are not like its article on Mythology. Unfortunately almost all the information conveyed by the *Stepping-Stone* series for which Mr. Mitchell has drawn up his manual, is practically of this kind. Of these the least harmful is the *Stepping-Stone to Geography*, because it does not pretend to do more than deal with the map of to-day; and in the absence of monstrous mistakes and blunders we may pardon the man who thinks that he is doing a child good by getting him to answer "roast beef and plum-pudding" to the question which asks him—"What is the favourite and famous national fare of the English?" or by making him repeat a page and a half about the present circuits of the Judges. But it is doing a child a serious mischief to tell him that "the State of the Trinobantes consisted of Essex and Middlesex"—a way of talking which may well make him think that Julius Cæsar came to England. In the same muddling fashion the *Stepping-Stone to English History* speaks of "the Saxons dividing that part of Great Britain called England into seven kingdoms." The juxtaposition of the following questions and answers is perhaps even a more serious offence:—

Q. In what year did Egbert begin to reign as King of England?

A. In the year 828.

Q. What great system was introduced into England about this time, which has been the chief source of the civilization, peace, and happiness of the country?

A. Christianity.

After the same style the child is told that Alfred divided England into counties, while under William the Conqueror, so called of course because he won in the fight at Hastings, we have the following portentous query:—

Q. Who invented musical notes in this reign?

A. A Frenchman.

The old Greek poet is more merciful when, speaking of the invention of the lyre, he at least tells us that it was made by Hermes.

The *Stepping-Stone to Grecian History* shows some improvement on others in the series, but the bald way in which everything is treated makes the latent scepticism of some of the questions rather mischievous than useful to the learner. The answer "No" is to be returned to the question which asks whether we can "look on Cecrops as an historical person." The next query is, "Who is said to have increased the power and wealth of Athens by his wise regulations?" the answer being "Theseus." Now the child, having been told that Cecrops is mythical, may very possibly lay a stress on the phrase, "Theseus is said to have made Athens great; but is it of any use thus to be led into doubt, unless he can also give some reason for doubting the fact—in other words, until he can form some idea of the class of beings to which Theseus, Minos, Romulus, and others belong? The subject of the Draconic legislation is treated much as in Mangnall, and the child will of course go away with the impression that before the age of Draco there were no laws at Athens at all.

The *Stepping-Stone to Roman History* is more absurd, as we might expect when we consider the bogs and pitfalls among which an uncritical writer has to move through several centuries of the narrative. There is no lack of mere mistakes. The daughter of Servius is Tullias; the people betrayed by Sextus Tarquinius are "the Gabii." The conduct of Brutus in having his sons executed is not to be admired, because "it was most cruel and unchristian." Of course the whole story down to the Punic wars is quite true, and there is no doubt about the chronology; but by way of acquitting herself of the heresy which draws a sharp line between ancient and modern history, the writer begins with some questions on modern Rome, and the information given is sufficiently strange. To a question about the healthiness of Rome the child replies that "from July to October the foreigner is exposed to dangerous fevers"; and to another on the supposed malignant character of consumption in Rome, he answers that "the disease there communicates itself to the healthy by means of articles of clothing and furniture." Having duly spoken of Rome as "the capital of the States of the Church, the residence of the Pope, and for centuries the capital of Christendom," he is next asked, "What is it now the capital of?" and answers, "Italy, and the world of arts." Whatever they may think of the world of arts, Baron Ricasoli doubtless would heartily agree with Garibaldi in wishing that he could thus with a stroke of the pen convert into a fact a consummation devoutly to be desired.

We have said enough to show of what sort of stuff these *Stepping-Stones* are made. A glance at almost any portion of Mr. Mitchell's manual will show that his little book is of quite another kind. Whether he is right or wrong in particular cases, he has grasped the essential distinctions between the styles which he treats, and sees that the development of styles is no mere arbitrary and irregular process, but a growth which may be traced with scientific strictness and minuteness. He has not contented himself, like Mr. Fergusson, with a chronological classification of styles generally, and more particularly of the Romanesque and Teutonic styles; and thus he has furnished to the learner a method which may enable him to find his way without much difficulty

* *Saturday Review*, February 16, 1867.

through the most intricate questions relating to Gothic architecture. In speaking thus, we are not committing ourselves to an opinion in favour of the catechetical form of this manual. On the whole, we are inclined to doubt whether long answers to short questions, or short answers to long questions, can be turned to much practical use. But there is no sort of doubt that the pupil will not be merely threshing chaff as he works out the following questions:—

Q. What distinction can you make between Greek and Roman architecture?

A. The architecture of the Greeks was that of the column and entablature. The genuine architecture of the Romans was that of the round arch, though, when they conquered the Greeks, they grafted Greek forms on their own style, and so made the latter exhibit a combination of both.

Q. What is the principle of the styles known as Gothic?

A. The Gothic styles may be classified in two broad divisions, the first of which, comprising the styles generally known as the Early English or Lancet, and the Geometrical (or First and Second Pointed) styles, exhibits throughout the principle of subordination, or unity of separately existing parts; while the second division, comprising the Curvilinear Decorated, or Continuous, and the Rectilinear or Perpendicular styles, tended more and more to blend and fuse the separate parts. The Romanesque styles which preceded the Gothic may be described as more or less a return to the genuine arched construction of ancient Rome.

The same praise may be given to the following among other questions on tracery:—

Q. How many kinds of tracery are there?

A. Two; plate tracery and bar tracery.

Q. What is plate tracery?

A. Plate tracery is the very earliest form of tracery, and belongs to the later periods of the First Pointed or Early English style. It consists simply of apertures cut in the flat surface of the stonework between the tops of the narrow windows.

Q. Is this, properly speaking, tracery?

A. No; the complete idea of Gothic tracery requires not only that the lights and figure (or figures) above them should be combined by label and arch, with mullions instead of portions of wall, but that the spandrels in the window-head shall be pierced.

It is clear that such a manual as this, well illustrated as it is, cannot be useless. From it the reader will at the least learn something of the real results of the architectural science of the present century; and having worked through this manual he will not find himself in hopeless antagonism with such writers as Whewell, Willis, Petit, Sharpe, Paley, Freeman, Scott, Pugin, and others who are likely to know something about a subject on which they have bestowed the honest labour of years. The worst point in nine out of ten of these stepping-stones and manuals is that they seem deliberately to ignore the labours of such workers and their results, unless indeed they are written by people who do not know that the matters with which they profess to deal have ever been made subjects of careful toil and thought. Hence their books are unspeakably repulsive; and the sooner they follow the example set by Mr. Mitchell the better, if not for their own interests, yet assuredly for the welfare of the poor boys and girls who are now tormented with masses of unmeaning talk or pretentious verbiage. Instead of being more difficult, it is really easier to write a book in accordance with facts than one which twists and falsifies them; but then it must be written by some one who really knows the subject. It may perhaps be better to abandon the form of catechisms; but, whatever may be the decision on this point, it will be a happy thing for the youth of England if competent writers can be found to prepare a series of manuals which shall not be stepping-stones to ignorance and conceit, in all cases in which the learner is not driven away in disgust or despair.

ORVAL, OR THE FOOL OF TIME.*

IN his former writings Mr. Lytton has given abundant proof that he possesses many of the qualifications necessary to produce good imitations, paraphrases, and translations. However opinions may vary as to his right to be considered a genuine poet, most critics will allow him cleverness, perseverance, a love of rhythm, a keen appreciation and retentive memory of much of the best modern English poetry, resulting in the ability to write light, elegant, and harmonious verse, where in one stanza we get a glimpse of Tennyson *en deshabille*, in the next a flavour of Shelley diluted, succeeded by the unwonted spectacle of Browning and conventionality side by side, and alternating most curiously with a faint occasional suspicion of a pleasant individuality of tone, which, if it had only been kept separate and carefully cultivated, might have won him before this a very fair position among the really original minor poets of the day. Rather, however, than drop into the rear among these, Mr. Lytton has of late years apparently aimed at becoming the first imitator of his time. In the present volume he has dedicated his powers, which are undoubtedly considerable in this direction, to an attempt to popularize among English readers a dramatic poem, the *Infernal Comedy*, written by Count Sigismund Krasinski, the Anonymous Poet of Poland.

It is rather difficult to discover from its preface the exact relation which *Orval, the Fool of Time*, is intended to bear to the drama which it represents. Its author tells us that he came by chance across a prose translation of the poem in an old number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and was much struck with its beauties. "While the effect of it was still fresh upon my mind, the following

paraphrase of it was written with a rapidity which is perhaps the best guarantee of its fidelity." And he invariably speaks of it as a paraphrase, though from a passage in another part of the book it would almost seem to be something else. "There is a merit," he says, "which belongs to accurate translation, and there is a merit which belongs to spirited paraphrase. I presume to think, however, that there is also another kind of merit, belonging neither to the one nor the other, in the vividness with which a writer may succeed in imparting to the minds of his readers sensations added to the stock of his own individuality by contact with a literature embodying the thoughts and fancies of an experience unfamiliar to himself and his countrymen." Putting this and that together, and having no knowledge of the original work, we are left to form our opinion from internal evidence in the poem, whether it is to be regarded as a spirited paraphrase, or an attempt to bring before us vividly the sensations added to the stock of Mr. Lytton's individuality by contact with the French translation; in other words, whether it resembles the *Infernal Comedy* as Pope's translation does the *Iliad*, or whether the merit in it is of the kind that would belong to a novel, let us say, written at top speed by an enthusiastic Frenchman, in imitation of the *Pickwick Papers*, with which he had lately become acquainted through the medium of a German translation. A perusal of the poem as it stands, combined with the light thrown upon it by its preface, seems to suggest that while it is in some parts a paraphrase, it is in others, not to use the word in an invidious sense, a tolerably unscrupulous adaptation. Some passages certainly read like translations, but the general absence of any definite traces of the nationality of its author—a Polish poet, as we are particularly told, writing for a Polish people—leads us to suspect that in many places Mr. Lytton has availed himself pretty freely of the liberty of departing not only from the letter, but also from the spirit, of the original. To remove any such traces was necessarily to remove one chief element of interest, and possibly to destroy altogether the perspicuity of the poem. In the absence of accurate information on the subject, all that can be done is to review the drama in its present form, without holding Count Krasinski responsible for its defects, or accrediting Mr. Lytton with the originality of the plot.

There seem to be two main objects aimed at in the poem—one to poetize the French revolution after an abstract fashion, the scene being laid in a totally imaginary country, and the characters of none of the historical actors being preserved; the other, to show that the man who is heartless and incapable of human sympathy is mischievous to society and damnable; or, as the chorus of Evil Spirits sing it, an hour or two before his death—

Because thou hast never loved aught, or ever
Hast aught adored, but thine own self, O soul,
Therefore shalt thou the face of God see never.
Evil thy course, Damnation be thy goal!

Orval, whose future prospects are thus distinctly revealed to us, is the typical aristocrat, with liberal tendencies, but impelled by ambition to take the lead of the nobility against the revolutionists. When his last fortress is taken, he commits suicide by leaping from the ramparts into an abyss beneath. He is throughout a very tremendous and awe-inspiring personage, with a most inexhaustible flow of windy declamation, holding communion with a multiplicity of spirits, evil and good—a guardian angel and an infernal eagle—who chants his choral passages with the best of his associates. Mr. Lytton tells us that the only language natural to such a character is rant, and if a due allowance of bombast was all that was wanted to make him natural, his hero is certainly a great deal more natural than bearable. We draw a sigh of relief as he goes over the castle wall with a sensational header, emitting his last furious gush of what bade fair to be an eternal flood of wordy melodramatic verse:—

Earth, take back whate'er of thine
Held for awhile this yet unconquer'd Spirit,
Which now goes hence. All mine eternity
I see before me—black and terrible,
And, in the midst, God, like a sun that burns
For ever, lighting nothing. Farewell, world!
Receive me, thou, my native element,
Into whose vast and sombre depths, thus, thus,
With outstretch'd arms and open'd spirit, I plunge!

(He leaps from the wall, and disappears into the abyss beneath.)

Panurge, the commander of the revolutionists, is a no less imaginative and typical being—a great ruling mind, unscrupulous and inscrutable, an atheist up to the last few moments of his life, purposing to achieve by his victory some vague ultimate amelioration of the human race, but, like Orval, dying just as the new era is about to begin. He is a more shadowy creation than his companion, and gains in effectiveness by being so; for these great abstract heroic Frankensteins, with all the humanity and national characteristics taken out of them, have a woeful tendency to become wooden when brought boldly into the foreground to point some clearly enunciated moral. With his death the poem ends as follows. He is sitting with his follower Brutus on the conquered wall:—

PANURGE.

A sign! a sign!

I know it. I have seen it in bad dreams.

BRUTUS.

Lean upon me. Thy face is white as death.

* *Orval, or the Fool of Time; and other Imitations and Paraphrases.* By Robert Lytton. London: Chapman & Hall. 1869.

PANURGE.
Millions of men obey me. Multitudes,
Nations in arms. Where is my People?

BEUTUS. Hark!
Their cry is yet upon the air beneath us.
Thy People call thee. In their name, and mine,
Pluck those changed eyes from yonder reddening rock!

PANURGE.
He stands there, still! Pierced with three nails, which are
Three stars. His arms are stretch'd across the world.
We cannot pass them.

BEUTUS.
Master, I see nothing.
Away! away!

PANURGE.
Vieisti, Galilei!

(He dies.)

We have purposely chosen the two most elaborated and thrilling bits of the tremendous in the poem. The force of the melodrama can no further go. Both ranters being dead, one of them in the most unexpected and inexplicable manner, we are left to wonder how the revolution will get on without its leading spirit, and what great moral truth is indicated by his fearfully sudden death. For the whole drama, it seems, bristles with second and third meanings. Nothing is to be taken in its simple sense. Everything is an allegory. We are to feel that it is an allegory, but we are not to be given the key to it. Now surely this is a mistake. Surely an allegory ought to be decently intelligible, or else be readable without any reference to second meanings. At any rate ought not the translator of an allegory to take especial care that his translation shall at least be as intelligible as the original? That it is not so, we infer from the following passage amongst others in his preface. Speaking of the *Infernal Comedy*, he says:—"Count Krasinski's entire conception of the revolutionary drama is profoundly sad. It closes with the picture of a universal failure, without a hope beyond." Now *Orval* closes with nothing of the kind. Panurge is certainly dead, but the revolution is entirely successful. It has taken the last fortress of the aristocracy, and that is all we know about it. The great social regeneration aimed at is certainly yet to come, but then the curtain falls just as the new system is about to be put upon its trial. In this there is much that is vague, but very little that is sad. Either the close of the *Infernal Comedy* must be something very different from the close of *Orval*, or the comment upon it seems rather farfetched and questionable.

In dealing with abstract puppets and ideas, Mr. Lytton seems to have missed his vocation. He is like an active lightweight who excels in leaping and running, but fails when he tries to win distinction by putting the weight and throwing the hammer. Whenever any opening comes—and even in such a terrific poem as *Orval* there are openings for the display of gentle sentiment and the tender emotions—he gets over the ground lightly and nimbly enough. Directly the deep speculations begin, we get laboured grandiloquence and empty long-drawn elegance in place of the rude strength of an unconsciously original writer. Whenever an unusual expression occurs, it seems to have been chosen because it was unusual, and not because it was the only one in which the writer could make his meaning clear. The situations of the piece are many of them fresh, and the plot is ingenious, but the element of greatness is nowhere visible, though the strainings after it are everywhere conspicuous enough. But poets are a stiffnecked race, and when one of them has persuaded himself that his forte lies in the magnificent, it is the hardest thing in the world to persuade him to come down from his stilts. In many respects Mr. Lytton resembles Propertius. He should take to heart the advice given to that poet by Apollo:—

Non hic ulla tibi speranda est fama, Propertii.
Mollia sunt parvis prata terenda rotis.

It is a relief to turn to the minor pieces in the volume, most of which are eminently readable. The greater number of them are imitations of Servian ballads, which have been published and reviewed before. There is a very pleasing paraphrase in blank verse of the episode of Aristeus, from the Fourth Georgic, where the easy melody, clearness, careful choice of words, and general faithfulness of the English leave little to be desired. Mr. Lytton seems also to have found a congenial author in Ronsard, whom he paraphrases simply and unaffectedly. But the prettiest things in the book are two imitations from the Danish, a comparison of which with any average bits out of *Orval* shows distinctly enough the directions in which the author's strength and weakness lie. The second is too long to be judged by quotations; the first suffers by being mutilated, but its merits will be partially apparent from a stanza or two:—

Stretching the tired limbs over the ground,
Laying the head o'er the Elfin Mound,
Seem'd I, or dream'd I, to hear and to see
Two milk-white maidens come lightly to me,
So lightly to me?
I saw them but once: I shall see them no more.
Dreaming is o'er.

And a marvellous music in air was heard,
And voices neither of breeze nor bird:
And the torrent, that never before stood still,
Stopp'd all at once of his own wild will
On the windy hill.
I saw them but once: I shall see them no more.
Dreaming is o'er.

"And wilt thou be of us? and wilt thou be ours?
We will play thee strange music, and ply thee strange powers:
Dance thee sweet dances, and sing thee sweet tunes:
And teach thee to read and to write the great runes
That charm stars and moons."
I saw them but once: I shall see them no more.
Dreaming is o'er.

MASTER WACE.*

SOME years ago we had occasion to review a well-meant, but not very successful, attempt to turn Master Wace into English verse, but we did not enlarge so specially as we might have done on Wace himself and his merits. To supply that lack is a good work at any time, and may be as well done at this time as at any other. But before we begin to say anything about Wace's merits, let us say a word about his mere name and description. Is not Wace the first man who ever called himself, or was called, by his surname only without his Christian name? It is certainly a strange thing that there should be a man of the twelfth century of whom we know the surname while his Christian name is doubtful. At the very close of his work he describes himself as "Maistre Wace" without any Christian name, and the name Robert, by which his French editor calls him, seems to be only a guess, though not an unlikely one. In one place in his history he indeed calls the famous Walter Giffard by his surname only, but then the Christian name had been used such a very little time before that the liberty taken was not a very frightful one. To speak of himself in a formal way as "Maistre Wace," as we now talk of Mr. Smith, is decidedly a step further, and it seems likely enough to be the first instance of the modern usage.

Master Wace certainly fills a very important place both in the history and the literature of his age. He and his contemporaries give us the earliest extant example of any long composition in the French language. And though there are doubtless earlier compositions in the Southern forms of Romance, it would be hard to find any of the same historical value. It is not wonderful that French literature should be a plant of later growth than the literature of the languages, both Romance and Teutonic, which surround it. The Teutonic languages naturally developed their literature earlier than the Romance languages, because the man who was speaking or writing High-Dutch or Danish or English must always have known what he was speaking or writing, and could never have fancied that he was speaking or writing Latin. But it was only gradually that the Romance languages came to be recognised as distinct languages, capable of being made the vehicles of sustained composition. For a long time a Romance-speaking man would doubtless have flattered himself that he both spoke and wrote Latin, though he would doubtless have allowed that the Latin which he spoke was much less pure than the Latin which he wrote. That France should lag behind Provence in the formation of a native literature was only natural. We must never forget that Northern Gaul remained, deep into the tenth century, subject, so far as it could be said to be subject, to a German-speaking sovereign. It was no doubt at the Court of the Dukes, afterwards the Kings of Paris that the French language grew up into anything like a regular form. But the great position which that language was destined to take among the languages of Europe came from another quarter. It was the Normans who, by becoming French, finally determined that Northern Gaul should be French, and not German. And, of the tongue which they then made their own, the *Lingua Romana*, now become a recognised national speech as *Lingua Gallica*, they became the most diligent cultivators at home and the most diligent propagators abroad. It was the conquests of the Normans which spread the French tongue from Scotland to Sicily, and the Normans had no small share in at least the first stage of that latter crusading movement which planted the French tongue at the Courts of Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Constantinople. The second stage in the development of the French language, the writing of prose history, is due, if not to France Proper in the very strictest sense, yet at least to Champagne, the country of Villehardouin and Joinville. But the earliest stage, the stage represented by Wace, the stage of historical composition in metre, is beyond doubt primarily Norman.

Wace's work is a noble one; it is one which improves on acquaintance, and which shows its author to have been possessed of no small share of the best qualifications of an historian. Its title of "Roman," and the fact of its being written in verse, should not lead any one astray. The work of the good Canon of Bayeux is a history, and a history which places its writer very high among the historians of his own age. He wrote in verse, because the first efforts at sustained composition in any language are sure to be in verse. It is most curious to watch in our own Chronicles how prose supplanted verse as the vehicle of the higher sort of composition. The writers of the earlier parts clearly had no idea of elevated prose. When they came to a part of their story which plainly called for a higher treatment than usual, all they could do was to throw their thoughts into verse. Gradually the art of prose-writing advanced, till we come to those wonderful pieces of natural eloquence which set forth the character of William and the horrors of the reign of Stephen. But

* *Le Roman de Rou et des ducs de Normandie*, par Robert Wace. Publié pour la première fois par Frédéric Pluquet. Rouen: 1827.

Master Wace his *Chronicle of the Norman Conquest*. From the *Roman de Rou*. Translated by Edgar Taylor, Esq., F.S.A. London: 1837.

the poetical entries of the Chronicle are just as trustworthy as the prose entries. The style of expression of course is different, but there is nothing about them savouring of what is called poetic licence with regard to the facts. So with the Song of Maldon. There can be no doubt that it gives a thoroughly trustworthy account of the battle. So with Wace, his work is none the less a history because it is in verse; he wrote in verse simply because in his day it was as natural to use verse for the purpose as it now is to use prose. In fact we trust Wace's French verse a great deal more than if he had written in rhetorical Latin. We suspect that most men will be more truthful in their own tongue, which they write naturally, than in a foreign tongue, where there is always a temptation to display, and, with display, a danger of exaggeration.

The book, then, is in fact a history of Normandy from the first beginnings of the Duchy to the death of William the Conqueror. In the earlier part he does little more than versify the narratives of Dudo of Saint Quintin and William of Jumièges; in fact there was little else to be done. His narrative therefore is neither more nor less trustworthy than the earlier narratives on which it is founded. But this is really saying a great deal, if we compare Wace with the crowd of writers, in verse and prose, in Latin and in the vernacular, who were not satisfied to follow the best materials within their reach, but made it their business to trick everything out with exaggerated or legendary improvements. But as Wace draws nearer to his own time, he rises to a much higher position than that of a mere versifier of what others had written before him. His narrative of the Conquest of England must be looked on as an independent authority, and an authority of a very high order. His narrative is not indeed a contemporary authority, like William of Poitiers or the Bayeux Tapestry. But Wace comes just within the limits which Sir George Lewis fixes for credible testimony. Born quite early in the twelfth century, he might easily have talked in his youth with old men who had been in the great battle. His work was written, or at least finished, late in life, in the reign of Henry the Second, and we may suspect that a great part of his life had been spent in collecting materials. If we compare him with a strictly contemporary writer like William of Poitiers, we shall at once see the advantages and disadvantages of his position. The Archdeacon of Lisieux wrote from his own knowledge, or from perfectly fresh information; the Canon of Bayeux wrote many years after the fact, from such information as he could get. But then Wace wrote to record the truth, while William of Poitiers wrote simply to magnify his patron. Nothing strikes us so much in Wace as his thorough honesty of purpose. He evidently took the utmost pains to get at trustworthy accounts of everything. When he is mistaken—and he sometimes is mistaken—we are sure it is always the fault of his informants and not his own. He is one of that small class of writers who, when they do not know a thing, have honesty enough to say that they do not know it. A great deal of what he tells us he must have picked up from local and family traditions, and we know how apt local and family traditions are to be inaccurate and exaggerated. But there is no sign of exaggeration or conscious myth-making on the part of the writer himself. We must take many of his stories for what they are worth; but, whether we believe them or not, we are certain that Master Wace simply told the tale as 'twas told to him. Between conflicting statements, as in the different accounts of the numbers of the ships and the armies, Wace always inclines to the most moderate and probable version. Moderation in short runs through his whole work. He is not a furious partisan like William of Poitiers. He is a Norman, a Norman of the Normans. A native of Jersey, a Canon of Bayeux, he belonged by birth and residence to the true Norman lands, and his local sympathies are often strongly shown. He loves to dwell on anything which concerns either his own city of Bayeux, or his native island and the noble peninsula to which that island was an appendage. But he has none of that savage hatred toward Harold or towards England which is shown by other Norman writers, by William of Poitiers above all. We judge of his statements of fact according to our light, but his tone is always fair, moderate, and sensible. He does thorough justice to the great qualities of the English King and to the enduring valour of the English soldiers. To this last indeed ample testimony is borne, even by such frantic libellers as William of Poitiers and Guy of Amiens. And one Englishman Wace seems to have chosen as his special hero. Gyrth seems somehow to have been a favourite with all the Norman writers, except with William of Poitiers, who of course could not stoop to admire any Englishman. But though Gyrth stands out boldly in the accounts both of William of Jumièges and of Orderic, it is only in Wace that he approaches to anything like the position of hero of the piece. For in Wace he does something very like it. He is of course second to William, but he is second to William only; he distinctly stands out before any other man, Norman or English. This part of the poem is all but a Gyrthiad. The hero is brought in on every conceivable opportunity, and he is always represented as displaying the most remarkable union of wisdom and valour. And his story is worked up with a good deal of epic skill, till we reach the final point where he dies, the last man at the Standard, by the hand of the Conqueror himself. It is not easy to see how this Norman tradition of Gyrth arose. Possibly there may have been a feeling that the great man of their own side needed to be matched against a worthy adversary, while it would not do to show too much honour to the perjured Harold. But even to Harold, as we have said, Wace is

wonderfully fair, compared with other Norman writers; still Gyrth is decidedly his favourite on the English side.

The *Roman de Rou* is by no means the only work of Wace, but it is the one on which his fame rests. And it is one which ought to set his fame very high, both strictly as an historical authority and as one of the founders of a literature such as that of France. Thoroughly to appreciate Wace, he ought to be compared with other writers of his own class, especially with his younger contemporary and rival, Benoît de Sainte-More. In Benoît there is a distinct romantic element, an element of exaggeration and decking out of facts, which stands in marked contrast to the honest sobriety of Master Wace. That honest sobriety, combined as it was with a diligent and inquiring spirit, sets Wace very high in his class. It is not often among mediæval writers that we find one who wrote so long after the events which he records who can throw so much real and, in the best sense, original light upon them.

GHEEL.*

THIS is a book of which we may confidently say that it was worth writing, and that, with certain slight drawbacks, it is very well written. Its exterior is rather deceptive. It blazes out upon the world in the most brilliant of all possible yellows, and produces the impression that it means to compete with those shilling novels which seek to attract our eye on railway bookstalls. The startling picture of a terrible catastrophe ornaments its sides, and the name of Gheel will probably leave most readers in profound ignorance. What, or who, is or was Gheel? will be their natural inquiry; is it an Indian city, or an article of commerce, or the name of a Highland hero? Not to leave them in suspense, we will inform them at once that Gheel is a village about thirty miles from Antwerp, and that a Flemish writer asks indignantly, who is there that has never heard of Gheel? In Belgium the question would probably be met by the intended reply; but in England it is necessary to explain further, that Gheel is the site of the oldest lunatic asylum in the world; and that the system there adopted is in certain respects entirely peculiar and well deserving of attention. The insane and idiotic have been received at Gheel for, it is said, twelve hundred years, and the legend which accounts for this singular speciality is as follows:—An Irish princess who was converted to Christianity was persecuted by an extremely objectionable old Pagan father. She ran away to the most remote corner of the globe then discoverable, which happened to be Gheel. Her retreat was discovered by her indignant father, owing to her folly in paying her bills with Irish currency of the period, thus exciting remark amongst the intelligent inhabitants of Antwerp. The father solaced his wounded feelings by cutting off his daughter's head, and her body, being left on the ground, became the cause of innumerable and startling miracles. The natural result was a great concourse of devotees, who, as was equally natural, were composed chiefly of the insane and idiotic. The inhabitants took charge of these poor creatures, and in this way started the peculiar industry which for twelve centuries has been practised at Gheel. The author does not pledge herself to the authenticity of this remarkable legend; but the facts which she investigated on the spot are equally remarkable, whatever may have been their original cause. The only fault that we have to find with the account given of them is, that the writer, from a laudable anxiety to be amusing, has adopted a style approaching a little too closely to the orthodox manner of fictitious writers. She reports conversations so dramatically that we rather lose faith in their strict accuracy. However, perhaps this is hypercritical; and at any rate she gives a very clear and intelligent account of the main peculiarities of the place.

The most distinctive circumstance about Gheel is that the lunatics, instead of being collected in a large building, are scattered about amongst the different families. They become domesticated in different houses, where each patient may have conveniences according to the means of his relations. Those who are comparatively healthy, or who have long lucid intervals, work at their trades, and frequently earn as good wages as the sane persons with whom they board. Others of course require more careful supervision, and are subject to more or less restraint; but the great principle which prevails at Gheel is that which has been adopted in all rationally managed asylums, of reducing coercive measures to the smallest practicable amount, and trusting as much as possible to the gradual influence of simple and regular life and healthy diet. The circumstances of Gheel enable this system to be carried out with a completeness elsewhere unknown. It might indeed be supposed at first sight that lunatics living in the families of farmers or artisans would frequently be subject to harsh, or at best to unintelligent, treatment; and the author says that in former times abuses were known, if they were not frequent. Now, however, a great reform has been made. The Belgian Government has established a central asylum at Gheel, under the supervision of a distinguished physician, Dr. Bulckens, to which all patients are sent in the first instance. They remain there for a time, until each case has been properly observed and the appropriate treatment determined. If special medical care is required, they may remain permanently; but as a rule they are

* *Gheel, the City of the Simple.* By the Author of "Flemish Interiors." London: Chapman & Hall. 1869.

sent to board in different houses of the district. For this purpose, Gheel and the neighbouring villages, including a population of about 11,000 souls, is divided into six districts, to each of which a special class of patients is assigned. It is not very easy to understand the classification as given by the author; but it appears that the harmless cases are allowed to live in the central village, and that the most violent are sent to the more remote districts, where they can live in certain farmhouses scattered widely over a large heath. There is a careful system of supervision by appropriate officers, so that the condition of every patient is reported each night to the physician in authority. There are it seems at present 620 *nourriciers*, or persons authorized to take charge of lunatics, and about 800 patients. The management of the patients thus devolves principally upon the families with whom they board, and who have acquired a kind of traditional aptitude for it, whilst the classification and supervision are left to the central authorities. Some of the results appear to be very remarkable, especially as regards the relation of the patients and the *nourriciers*. The arrival of a boarder is generally celebrated, it is said, as a little family festivity. The guest is treated to the best of everything, and gradually learns to take an interest in all the affairs of the house. He sometimes is cured by the gradual "resuscitation of moral vigour" which results from friendly and familiar treatment. The people have learnt a peculiar practical skill in dealing with the objects of their singular hospitality. Thus, for example, a mischievous person is allowed to break everything he pleases, and it is declared that the annoyance of the owners has a better effect on the patient than any direct restriction, and frequently induces him to make a moral effort which leads to his recovery from the habit. Thus a young Englishman—the only one of our countrymen at Gheel—had imported, amongst other "expensive and unattractive habits," a peculiar love of breaking windows. Certainly the passion, taken by itself, would not be a sufficient proof of lunacy, and we fear that the method of cure adopted at Gheel would hardly be found effective at an English University town. On the first day of his arrival this young gentleman broke twenty-eight windows; no notice whatever was taken of his exploit, and next day he confined himself to smashing fourteen. He was again mortified by the complete indifference of the villagers, and since that time has completely abandoned this delightful pastime. The result, if satisfactory in its way, illustrates the extreme difficulty of introducing the Gheel system elsewhere. It would certainly take something like twelve centuries of training to induce the inhabitants of an English village to allow undergraduates to live amongst them and break as many windows as they pleased without remonstrance. A still more remarkable case is mentioned in illustration of the skilful treatment of the violent lunatics. One who was subject to occasional fits of frenzy had exhibited symptoms of an approaching crisis, and the doctor had warned the woman in whose house he was living to watch him closely. The madman objected to this vigilance, and whilst the *nourricière* was sitting in front of the door with her infant in her lap, he took up a large pair of tailor's shears and threatened to split her skull. She walked towards him holding up her infant as a shield and made him back into a low chair at the further end of the room. She then threw the child into his arms, and running out of the room locked the door upon the pair. The baby screamed violently, to the extreme surprise of the maniac. The mother fainted away from excitement, but on recovering sent for the doctor; and on his arrival half an hour afterwards the door was opened and the maniac was found calmly nursing the child, which he had restored to good humour at the same time with himself. The method was certainly original, and perhaps it would take even longer to train mothers to this use of their infants than to teach the ordinary mind to submit to window-smashing. It is indeed remarked as a curious result, that the affection entertained by the lunatics for children, and the reciprocal veneration which the children entertain for the infirmity of their guests, is frequently touching and of almost incredible intensity. A patient seized with an attack of raving mania is frequently restored to composure, it is asserted, simply by the presence of a little child. In spite of the extreme liberty allowed to the patients, and the familiar terms on which they live with the inhabitants, it is said that cases of personal injury are unknown, nor have the Gheelians themselves suffered any evil consequences from their long and close association with lunatics. The patients liable to attacks of temporary violence frequently leave the houses of their own accord and wander off into the fields and woods, where they can give way to their impulses without injury to their neighbours.

The author gives various descriptions of individual cases, and of the strange, half ludicrous, half melancholy incidents resulting from the delusions of the patients, in which, however, there is little that is new. The most purely ludicrous story, which we fancy that we have heard before, is the answer of a lunatic to a visitor who said to him, "You now tell me that you are the Archangel Gabriel, but last time I was here didn't you tell me that you were Lucifer?" "So I am," replied the lunatic, "but it's by different mothers." There is another good anecdote of the madman whose release had been procured by Balzac, who had convinced himself and the authorities after a long investigation that the unfortunate man was the victim of a conspiracy to keep him out of his property. Balzac was delighted with his success, and begged his friend to celebrate his release by coming to breakfast with him.

"No," said the man, "but I will come if you make it a supper." "Certainly," said Balzac, "if you prefer it, but why should you not come to breakfast?" "Because," was the reply, "you will see, as a sensible man, that I cannot allow myself to be seen except at night, as I am the moon." Balzac decided to be more careful another time. The story, true or false, may be paralleled by the anecdote mentioned by Erskine, in his speech on Hadfield's case, of the lunatic who almost succeeded in an action for obtaining his release, till he accidentally admitted that he believed himself to be Jesus Christ. On a subsequent occasion the same man was so conscious that this answer had led to his continued confinement that he refused to commit himself again, and his former reply had to be given in evidence.

These stories, however, are a divergence from the main purpose of the book, which is to recommend Gheel to the attention of qualified observers. It is, indeed, sufficiently plain that it would be almost impossible to transplant the system which has there been gradually developed. We cannot expect that any population of sufficient size would be induced to take in lunatics on a large scale as boarders; and it would be still more difficult to train such a population in the necessary medical knowledge, and to make them practise proper forbearance and self-restraint. Yet it is probable that many hints may be derived, as to the general principles of treatment, from the singularly rational and humane methods adopted at Gheel. The author seems only to have made a passing visit, but a more careful and prolonged inspection would probably well repay the trouble. She has done good service in calling attention to the facts.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS—DOMESTIC SERIES.*

IN our review† of Mr. Brewer's Letters and Papers of the reign of Henry VIII., we said that we supposed "Mr. Lemon's successor would enlarge the accounts of the documents which she has to epitomize, so as to bring the concluding years of the Domestic Papers of Elizabeth into something more like harmony with the corresponding period of Foreign Papers." Mrs. Green's volume was completed before these words were written, and it may be thought she has done exactly what was suggested. Forsaking the method followed by her predecessor for the Calendar of the first thirty-three years of Elizabeth, and adopted by herself for the twenty-two years of the reign of James I., she has given us a fair analysis of the Domestic Papers of the years 1591–1594 inclusive, and promises us two more volumes before she can complete the series of Domestic Papers for this reign. And it may be said that we ought to be satisfied. Nevertheless we are not satisfied. We have several faults to find. The accounts of the State Papers are in many instances too meagre. We believe we are correct in saying that there is not a single footnote in the volume explaining any historical difficulty. There is no allusion anywhere throughout these papers to any copies of them which exist either in MS. or in print. These are serious faults in such a Calendar, and we fancy they are attributable to one and the same cause. Mrs. Green is by no means deficient in skill, or in knowledge of her subject. She has been accustomed to the reading of manuscripts and to historical investigations for more than twenty years, and her *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, which were published as long ago as the year 1846, bear ample testimony to her historical and critical powers, and her intimate acquaintance both with printed books and the repositories of manuscripts. The most probable account of the deficiencies of this volume then is, that the editor has been hurried through her work. We are not aware whether she is subjected to the rule of producing a volume every year, which presses so hardly upon some of the editors on the staff of the Master of the Rolls. But if this be so, it will account for Mrs. Green's not having produced a volume as valuable as she might have done, and as we believe she would have done if she had not been fettered by unwise restrictions.

And, whilst we are on the subject of unwise restrictions, we will venture to repeat our opinion, though we may be told that it is *crambe decies repetita*, that the Master of the Rolls has made a great mistake in his order which cuts down the prefaces to these volumes, and confines them to an explanation of the papers contained in them. This order, whilst in some cases, as in that of Mr. Brewer, it has been wholly inoperative, seems to have frightened other editors, and perhaps amongst them Mrs. Green, into an almost entire silence; whilst in the few words with which the volume is introduced to the public the editor has made a very unwise defence of the want of uniformity in the series, part of which, as she justly observes, only indicates, whilst another part describes, the contents of the papers. "Experience," she says, "has proved the desirability of fuller descriptions." We commend the use of the word *desirability* to the consideration of those who object to Latin grammar as a means of education, and proceed with our grumbling. Now experience has shown no such thing. We venture to think that if the opinions of competent

* *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1591–1594, Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office.* Edited by Mary Anne Everett Green, Author of "The Lives of the Princesses of England," &c.; under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls, and with the Sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department. London: Longmans & Co.

† See *Saturday Review* of February 8, 1868.

judges had been asked, before this series was commenced, whether an index to the State Papers or a description of them was wanted, the verdict would have been nearly unanimous in favour of the latter—in favour, that is, of a system which should in almost all cases preclude the necessity of consulting the originals.

Now, if Mrs. Green had enlarged her epitomes to this extent, one ground of complaint against this volume would have been removed. It is because we have so often been disappointed in this respect that we consider this the principal defect in the volume. For instance, it would be absurd to suppose that the description of the report of the conspiracy of Dr. Lopez, which is compressed into nine lines, would satisfy any one who wished to investigate the history of this attempt to destroy the Queen, and who knows that the original is extended to more than twenty-two pages. It is indeed possible that nothing more can be gleaned from the original than appears in the other documents in this volume, which extend over more than thirty pages, from p. 430 to p. 460; but, if so, this should have been stated in a note. Either the information contained in this paper is not sufficient, or, if it is, this should have been distinctly stated. As it is, the historian who wants to be sure that he has omitted no available source of information for this plot against the Queen's life must have recourse to the original of this paper, where—if we may hazard a conjecture as to the true state of the case—he will probably find no additional information to that which he can gather from the documents calendared in this part of the volume. But, if this be so, it is much to be regretted that there should not be afforded to the reader the same information that is appended to a subsequent document of March the 9th, 1594. This paper, which also in the original occupies above six pages, consists of a brief declaration of Dr. Lopez's treasons. But, as it is to the same effect as those already calendared, the editor has perhaps exercised a wise economy of space in omitting to describe it more minutely.

This is far from being a solitary instance of the fault with which we are charging the editor of this volume. The most vexatious of the omissions are those of the names of Popish recusants. And though the reader will find in the Index, under the head of Recusants, the sub-titles *names of, lists of, wives of, &c.*, he will in vain search the body of the work for the names, there being in general nothing more definite than the following:—

Names of students and English seminaries at Rheims, and 4 in the English College at Rome, known to Robert Weston; also of 21 recusants and favourers of the Church of Rome remaining in and about London; in Hertfordshire, 4; Bedfordshire, 4; Northamptonshire, 5; Leicestershire, 2; Staffordshire, 1; &c.

Mrs. Green must be quite aware of the extreme difficulty of getting at the truth as regards the religious belief of the nation at large, and of separate counties and county families in particular. And in this relation we cannot but think that every distinct name occurring in any of these documents ought to have been reproduced. The Church history of that period has never yet been written by any one possessed of an intimate acquaintance with its records. And we want the means of testing what has been written of it by Roman Catholic or by Puritan authors, and, above all, we want a fuller account of the recusants themselves than is to be met with in Dodd's Church History, or in any other account of them that has yet been printed. This is the weak point of Mrs. Green's Calendar, which in other respects, and as far as we can judge without comparing her epitomes with the actual originals, we believe to have been conscientiously and faithfully executed.

Much the largest part of the book is occupied by one subject; and if any one hitherto has been apt to suspect that Queen Elizabeth had a quiet and secure life after she had got rid of the obnoxious Queen of Scots, and after the signal discomfiture of the Spanish Armada, a glance at these pages will suffice to undeceive him. Scarcely a page can be opened which does not contain something about real or supposed plots of Papists against the Government or the Queen's life. The volume does not throw as much light as we could have wished either on the reality of the plots or on the extent to which the King of Spain was implicated in them. We must wait for further revelations from the Simancas Records, and we fear that we shall have to wait for many years before we know much about the real connexion of English conspirators with the Court of Spain; or, again, how far suspicions were entertained at Madrid that Elizabeth was conspiring against Philip's life. The boast contained in one of the State Paper documents, that Elizabeth was not concerting measures against the Spanish King, at least shows that some such suspicion was afloat, and that it was not thought very unnatural that she should be undertaking some such measures by way of reprisal and retaliation.

Perhaps the most striking feature in the volume, to a reader of the present day, is the separation of the Roman Catholic gentry into two classes, which will bear some comparison with the Ultramontane and the more liberal views entertained by Archbishop Manning and Dr. Newman respectively. The analogy must not be pressed too closely. But there was then, as there is now, amongst the Roman Catholic gentry and clergy, a party with a strongly developed English feeling. Such persons are the representatives of the view which must have been in Gardiner's and Bonner's minds; and, had the Church been left as Henry VIII. meant to leave it—the old doctrines remaining for the most part untouched, but the Pope's supremacy got rid of—many of these would have belonged to the National Church. No

such alternative, however, was now presented to them, and they were content to remain loyal subjects of the Queen provided only they were unmolested in the exercise of their religion. This class of people had little or no sympathy with the violent measures adopted by some of their co-religionists, whose object was to secure the throne, after the death of the Queen, for any one in communion with the Church of Rome who might seem to have some hereditary claim, or who might be strong enough to hold it if once placed in it. With many there was a rooted hostility to any foreign rule, and this consideration seemed to render the chances of Philip of Spain and the Duke of Parma but slight; but a claim might be made for a son of the latter if a match could be brought about between him and Lady Arabella Stuart. Lord Strange, who was lineally descended from Henry VII., was another possible candidate. The Queen's long reign, and the discovery and defeat of all the plots and machinations against her life, disappointed all their hopes. It is useless now to speculate upon what might have been the eventual effect of a declaration, on the Queen's part, who was to be her successor. She must have known, as well as her courtiers did, how much strength such a declaration would have given to her Government. Yet, with a perversity the chief ingredient of which perhaps was personal vanity, she persistently refused to name any one. Of the quiet accession of James VI. of Scotland to the throne of England, in 1603, we shall perhaps have more to say on the publication of the last volume of the Calendar of Domestic Papers of this reign.

The last remark we have to make on this volume is on the striking absence of many incidents of domestic history from its contents. It is so full of indictments of Roman Catholics, and hunting down Papists and Jesuits, that it seems as if the severe measures adopted by the Government against Anabaptists and other sectarians who began to multiply at that time had been overlooked. That is of course owing to no fault in the editor, but to a deficiency in the documents. Even where the arraignment of a Nonconformist minister is noticed, as in the case of Penry, there is not nearly enough given to check the ordinary histories of the time. We have here only two documents referring to him, one containing a very brief account of his indictment, and the other merely stating that he had been hanged; whilst of his predecessors in the same line—Arthington, Coppinger, and Hacket—the names are just mentioned in an anonymous draft, and we have to look elsewhere for their trial and the account of their death. A similar remark applies to the arraignment of Sir John Perrot, in April, 1592. In this case, it is true, there are several documents in which his name occurs. We have many papers which refer to the accusations made against him, but there is no account either of his trial or the execution of the sentence. The real reason of this is, that the originals from which this information is to be derived have found their way into other collections, whether private or public. The arraignment of Perrot may be found in the Cotton Collection in the British Museum, which, we take the opportunity of observing, is more deficient in domestic papers of Eliz. an. 33-37 than we had expected to find it. But we must add that, if the Cotton Collection is deficient, the Lansdowne most remarkably supplies the gap. Not to say anything of other papers dispersed through this Collection, there are at least twelve consecutive volumes of this library which would have furnished 1,200 documents illustrative of this history; enough, that is, to supply materials for another volume nearly as large as that which we are reviewing.

Thus, whilst the historian of the first half of the sixteenth century will have easy access to all the information that can be gathered from the volumes of Mr. Brewer and the accounts transmitted from Venice and Simancas, the unfortunate writer who shall undertake the reign of Elizabeth will have to hunt for himself for documents which he may or may not be able to find, but which most certainly ought to have appeared in this series of publications. It would not be too much to say that the whole of the Domestic Papers, from the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. to the end of Elizabeth, will some day have to be done again.

THE EPICURE'S YEAR-BOOK FOR 1869.*

ON the appearance of the first volume of this English aspirant to the fame of the *Almanach de Table, La Gazette des Comestibles*, and other ancient Continental annuals for the use of Monsieur L'Appétit, we ventured to point out an anomaly or two in its form and substance—for example, its mixing up the question of "food for the million" with dainties "for the upper ten," and one or two such affectations as the omission of the pheasant from the *menus* of October and November, whilst he figures prominently and prematurely in those of September. For these hints a dyspeptic author or editor might have done what an amusing Greek word in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes would have suggested to a scholar-gourmand—namely, "put us in his pot," and made stock of us for his second volume. "Fin-Bec" has not only not done this, but by his forbearance, and his omission of the features objected to, has proved that he is one with whom good living does not disagree, and that he recognises the wholesome truth that good books and good dishes can never be the worse for full and free discussion. His editorial difficulties, it would seem from his present preface, do not lie

* *The Epicure's Year-Book for 1869. Second Year. London: Bradbury, Evans, & Co. 1869.*

so much in adverse or lukewarm criticism as in the pangs of having to reject "good" volunteer "material." "Inventors of new dishes and new condiments; importers of unknown vintages; creators of new provision trades; gastronomic authorities on the table arts, besiege him, bespeaking his attention." Amidst which graphic vision of the proverbial "too many cooks," suggestive of the difficulty which Fin-Bec must find in keeping his palate uncorrupted and his criticism just and candid, arises the central figure and master mind of M. Jules Gouffé (a veritable "flower, safety, plucked out of the nettle, danger") to impart an air of sound wisdom and discretion, of practical experience, and the true simplicity of genius, to the too often extravagant flights of gastronomic enthusiasm. The epicure, gaping for a new appetitive sensation, will con the menus for the four seasons which this great authority has contributed to this "Year-Book," and find perchance what he yearns for in the saddle of reindeer (*selle de renne rôtie, purée de céleri*), which is now brought from Archangel to Paris and London, and from which, "cooked à point, the gourmet cannot take off his eyes" (p. 57). Such choice winter flesh, however, cannot be accessible *cuius homini*, any more than the gelinotte (or "hazelhen") among fowl, which comes in a week from Russia, packed in oats, contained in wicker baskets, to relieve in March the chickens and the pigeons; or the asparagus from Provence among vegetables, each head costing 4*l.*, and measuring three inches round, which figured at the Turkish Ambassador's dinner last April (cf. p. 110). Yet plain mortals, fit only, as a Frenchman would say, to discuss poultry and butcher's meat, may appreciate and profit by Fin-Bec's maxim, in accord with M. Gouffé's, as to marketing, "that when anything is so scarce as to have an extravagant price upon it, it is generally not only scarce, but of bad quality" (cf. pp. 53, 104), or by the remarks which that artist made to the editor of the *Year-Book* on fat meat and fat poultry shows. "The fat meat," he said, "represents so much food wasted in making diseased animals—in creating expensive, unwholesome fat. As regards poultry it is monstrous; the yellow fat with which it is covered is detestable. I see a turkey marked 6*l.*, geese at 4*l.* each, fowls at 1*l.*, and pigeons at 3*s.* 6*d.* a head. They are all unhealthy monsters, coarse and gastronomically bad. The restaurants buy them; but who that knows how to eat would order one?" The idea of M. Gouffé, which follows in the text, of offering handsome prizes, not for this production of monstrosities, but "for the supply of the best breeds in the best condition to the market all the year round," is one which marks him a far-sighted and reflecting connoisseur as to the victualling department, and justifies Fin-Bec in accepting him as his "magnus Apollo."

In the "Gastronomic Calendar," and the corresponding "Seasons and Season Menus" (pp. 15-56), the reader will find "things old and new" to satisfy the most exacting appetite. The gourmet, *cujus animus est in patinis*, may have heard of the Poachard or Dun Bird on the 27th of January this year elsewhere than on the Misley Hall Estate, Essex; indeed, according to the eminent naturalist Mr. F. O. Morris, it arrives in England in November, and does not migrate northward until March, being abundant meanwhile in the southern and fenny counties. The simnel cakes, which one associates with reminiscences of Shrewsbury and Ludlow, are commemorated on the 10th of April, and under the head of "Good Friday" we find a note and comments on the origin of "hot-cross-buns," worthy of the pages of *Notes and Queries*. We are afraid that the advocates of a Christian original for these are out of court altogether. There can be no question that they are traceable to the Roman "quadra," which Ovid refers to in his *Fasti* (iv. 745-6), in the words "dapibusque resectis." Fin-Bec is right therefore in saying that their origin is "respectable"—classical, though not Christian. We are taught to connect St. Swithin with other ideas than fair or foul weather, when we read that on the 15th of July one "should go to Plymouth to eat 'dories,' and to the coast of Cornwall for mullets"; and henceforth an appropriate meditation for "St. Vincent's Day" (Jan. 22) will be found in the chapter upon "Our Cellar," or perhaps in the "History of the Origin of the famous French Vintages," in M. Nicolardot's *Histoire de la Table*. In Fin-Bec's urgent pleading for more attention to the production of winter salads in England it is impossible not to concur; and we may say the same of his glorification, in common with M. Dubois, of the "veritable English rhubarb pie, with the brown sugar"—only he has forgotten the cream!

Among the discoveries of the last year, he notes that of a rival to the foie-gras pâté in "hare-liver pie" (p. 20); but if Deyer—whose "idea of associating the fat liver of the goose with the gastronomic diamonds of Perigord" was the death of Clare, the Strasbourg inventor and purveyor of the original foie-gras—still survives, he may take heart, and not follow suit, when he learns the judgment of Fin-Bec in p. 165, that the distance between goose-liver and hare-liver is as wide as that which separates "truffles from galls."

The editor's remarks at p. 20 on the subject of the "rouge-gorge en salmis," or spitted, fail to convince us that we took a wrong view of the taste of Englishmen with reference to this Continental delicacy. Much as is due to France in matters of the table, we have confidence that on this point our naturalists would carry the day against our epicures, even if the latter should ever consent, *gula causa*, to the destruction of "red-breasts," "red-starts," "black-caps," and such small birds, which in this country enliven our hedges, whilst abroad they are slaughtered promiscuously, twenty-four to a dish. Nor, although we have some sense of the seductiveness of a lark-pudding, and can believe

that "a little pyramid of larks is delightful," can we altogether join in the lamentation of Fin-Bec, that "they have been neglected" (*i.e.*, allowed to soar unmolested) of late years, and no longer hold the proud place they had when Cambacérés governed the dinner-tables of the First Empire" (p. 20); or in that at p. 40, where he says that there is "in July a sad lack of birds!" Where? it occurs to us to ask. In the shrubberies, the gardens, or in the open country? No! upon the club-tables, where, though he is difficult to get, a "Corsican Blackbird" may sometimes figure in a July menu. So long as he is procured from across the seas, well and good; the damage to our sensibilities is infinitesimal. But let us be content to wait for the game that comes in with August, and runs on till past the arrival of the restorative "snipe," and of the wild-duck "that repairs wasted frames," rather than furnish our menus with the blackbird which fattens right under our country windows; and the thrush, more precious to us surely as a many-noted songster than as a table delicacy, even when his orgies on the grape have enhanced his flavour, and justified the proverb, "Soul comme une grive."

On the best mode of remedying our national scantiness of table-fruit through the winter we more cordially approve of Fin-Bec's inquiries and researches. Why should not we share with New York the advantages in this way of Mr. Nyce's fruit-preserving houses? "His theory is that by keeping fruit in a very cold and even temperature, employing certain disinfectants and appliances to absorb all moisture, and admitting no ray of light, he can arrest the process of ripening, and keep the life of the fruit, so to speak, in absolute suspense." Or why not adopt another hint from our neighbours across the Channel, to whom we owe so many, and naturalize the process of preserving cut grapes in water, which is set forth in that most suggestive volume, Mr. Robinson's *Gleanings from French Gardens* (pp. 196-203), a process which we commend to Fin-Bec and to our readers generally? It is practised in the gardens of Ferrières (Baron Rothschild's seat) and elsewhere, and by it grapes cut in October may be preserved till April. The grapes are cut with a longish shoot, and stuck in narrow-necked bottles, so that the branches hang clear of each other. The water in these bottles is sometimes mixed with charcoal, but this does not seem essential; and the bottles are placed in rows upon two laths, supported by two three-legged uprights. Another wrinkle, as to the preservation of peaches, gathered before they are soft-ripe, and packed in bran in a cellar or store-room (ib. 203), is valuable, if to be depended upon. To us it seems a little problematical. Before leaving the topic of fruits, we may note that Fin-Bec speaks experimentally of green-currant jelly—unstained by strawberry juice, as the Americans have it—as really delicious.

The editor's notice of fish-dinner novelties last July, *e.g.* "Filets de truite à l'Epicurienne," "Rouget à la Réforme," and "Anguilles à la Magdala" (p. 42), lead us away to the whitebait, which Dr. Günther of the British Museum affirms to be the young herring, misnamed to "please fishermen and gourmands." Whilst Dubois, in his book on the dishes of all nations, can say, as he is declared to say, in p. 142, that "English whitebait is the little fish that is called 'canchetti' in Italy, *poitin* at Nice, and 'poisson blanc' at Bordeaux," and whilst the editor of *Scientific Opinion's* crucial test—of watching side by side the development of herring-spawn and whitebait-spawn in separate salt aquariums—remains untried, we shall be content to laugh at the disagreements of doctors, and to call the delicacy which "the English love to eat at 'Grénisch'" by the name which custom has endeared to us. The season of Lent will naturally render that part of the *Epicure's Year-Book* which is devoted to fish-dinners especially interesting to good Catholics. We wish we could transcribe for them a *maigre menu* which a Bréton hotel-keeper announced for last Good Friday at five francs a head (p. 31). A French writer—Mercier, quoted in the *Histoire de la Table*—says that at the French monarch's table in Holy Week, in his day, every fish that swam was imitated in vegetables, to which the distinct flavour of that fish it represented was imparted. We could accept this as strict "fasting," but "Saumon de Loire à la Régence," "Turbot sauce aux huitres," "Mayonnaise d'homard à l'Orientale," with much more, and "Punch Romaine" to wash it down, strike the uninitiated Protestant as in the nature of a feast.

Upon the modern wine question Fin-Bec's remarks are valuable and interesting, the more so as he regards it from the consumer's point of view. The basis of them is Mr. Beckwith's notes, and Mr. Denman's answer; and we may promise those who read the chapter intitled "Our Cellar" some excellent information as to good ordinary and extraordinary wines. One corollary may be safely drawn from the results of his inquiries and researches—that not nearly all the Château Lafite and Château Margaux, or the high-sounding Austrian "crus," any more than the famous brands of Port, or the so-called Cadiz and Puerta-Santa-Maria Sherry, come from the utterly inadequate regions which the names indicate. So far, however, we do not see that the port and sherry fanciers, with whom we desire to be classed, have much the worst of it; and it does not appear at all clear to us that either the shippers of port or ourselves have very much to gain by importing the pure vintages of the Alto Douro. Would they suit our market, or would they improve with age to an equal degree? The hint to the sherry buyer, that he should seek it of a pure straw-colour, soft but not sweet, fruity to the taste, but leaving the palate quite clean, has our entire approval. Of course it makes a vast difference in one's estimate of wines whether or not one accepts Mr. Beckwith's theory, that we should seek a wine to *drink*,

not to sip. Granting this, the buyer of course will go in largely for the wines of Burgundy and Bordeaux. Of these the English taste, untroubled by visions of gout, will, we suspect, favour the former. For the comfort of those who are thus minded, be it recorded that Mr. Beckwith holds Burgundy, taken with dinner, to be neither "heating nor gout-causing." Yet there ought to be virtue too in Bordeaux; and it would seem that there is to claret-drinkers like our editor, who fairly gets into a seventh heaven of poetry over Mr. Beckwith's inability to describe its bouquet. "Try," he cries, "to describe the loveliest woman your imagination has ever approached. Endeavour after words that shall present to the sense the perfume of the rose, the fragrance of a bed of thyme; master in a written page the full flavour of the peach; and your 'prentice hand' may turn to your Bordeaux bins." A propos of the French wines, no maxim can beat that of the old gourmands—"Burgundy from the cellar, Bordeaux on the stove, Champagne in the ice-tubs"; yet we see that Mr. Beckwith is against the icing of this last, and for deferring its production to a later period of dinner than is customary. In confirmation of his opinion that Champagne will improve by keeping, we must cite from the *History of the Table* the experience of Père Perignon, the great improver of the Champagne vintage. This worthy, who died in 1715, mastered his subject so thoroughly that he obtained a liquor sparkling or still, white, grey, or red in colour, and strong enough to keep nine years, and stand a voyage to India. We must not quit the wines without retailing a *mot* from Fin-Bec's scrap-book:—

A MAGNIFICENT SHERRY.

Host. Taste this sherry, sir; magnificent. Bought it at the sale of Bishop—
Guest. (Having tasted) Colenso, I presume.

Had we space, we could have wished to commend Fin-Bec's clever scheme for the reform of picnics; no one could deserve a better fortune than such "Potted Luck" as henceforth readers of the Year-Book will know how to provide *sous les feuilles*. We might have recommended, too, his reviews of books germane to his subject, which, having gone over the same ground, we can testify that he has "read" as well as "reviewed." But it must suffice to say of his second "Year-Book" that it is, as it should be, an improvement on his first; full of good hints, curious matter, capital anecdotes, and—as the "Legacy of Corks," which serves for introduction, proves—some very pretty writing. In most points we are so impressed by his knowledge that we could sit reverently at his feet; only we must beg of him to forward us the address of the poulterer at Rouen from whom he gets his ducklings, and to bear with us if, his "Cellar" notwithstanding, we retain a belief in the possibility of purchasing wholesome Port.

PERKINS'S ITALIAN SCULPTORS.*

MR. PERKINS will be remembered by our readers as the author of two elaborate and plentifully illustrated volumes on Tuscan Sculpture, which were noticed by us when they appeared.† He has now completed his task, if Sicily be excluded from the *Regno d'Italia*. But, whereas two volumes were required to give even a tolerably comprehensive outline of the art as practised within one small territory, the whole of the remaining provinces of the peninsula have been comprised by Mr. Perkins, without any retrenchment of his original scheme, within one. The natural inference from this is also the correct inference. Venice may fairly compete with Florence in the glories of painting, but Florence was the intellectual soil of Italian art; and hence the more severe and intellectual of the two sisters was far most at home in Tuscany. Even there, as we pointed out in our former notice, sculpture, despite the great genius and labour which were brought into her service, was never really understood; was never guided by those almost instinctive laws which were felt by Assyrians and Egyptians, and were carried by Hellenic artists to their highest completeness. Italian sculpture, in fact, hardly ever emerged from being a condition of painting, carried out at a great disadvantage in other materials. Its charm, for a very peculiar and powerful charm it has, is mainly derived from the other art; and except when it seems thus to reflect the great contemporary painters of the time, it ceases to please. In nineteen cases out of twenty, we find that Italian sculpture either aims at, or reaches, nothing above ornamentation. We are very glad to see the fragments collected at Kensington; but their chief lesson is what should be avoided by a sculptor. And this moral is what Mr. Perkins's last volume, containing not above three or four names legitimately entitled to praise for success in their art, brings before us even more forcibly than its predecessors.

The volume must, however, have cost the author an even proportionately greater degree of industry and personal research. It is a perfect mine of information on ancient times, and upon the performances *virorum obscurorum*. Mr. Perkins has here had to deal with a subject which, as regards the actual works in sculpture, or the history of the provinces in which they were produced, and where they are now buried, is little familiar to English readers. Hence a vast mass of complex materials has been before him; he has had to sketch the early history and to give some account of the chief persons in whose honour the sculptors of the time were employed,

in order to give life and meaning to his criticisms. A book written on such a scheme, like that of Messrs. Cavalcaselle and Crowe on Italian Painting, can hardly be made into a work of art, or have the sort of charm which there is in a biographical history; nor has Mr. Perkins perhaps given us so much original research into unpublished materials as the authors just named, who followed a long series of able investigators. He is more like a pioneer in new regions; but his work, like theirs, will be indispensable to all who care to follow out the story of Christian art in detail and with accuracy; although we feel at the same time that, both in the painting and the sculpture of Italy, many most interesting fields remain to reward the diligence of future students. And, though we are grateful to Mr. Perkins for what he has done in the way of illustration, yet it may be remarked that greater delicacy and greater force in the engravings would put the subject of such a work more completely before the eye of the reader.

Apulia, with which the volume opens, is a country which combined many elements in its early art. There are the influences from Byzantium, so long the paramount power in what of old had been named "Great Greece"; the Saracens, who at one time almost promised to carry the empire of Mahomet into the holy soil of the Peninsula; the Normans, who here made a conquest less durable though more brilliant than that of England; the Lombards, who during the imperfectly known centuries of our own Saxon period had planted in the South those seeds of vital vigour which were the true motive elements in almost everything of value, whether in art or politics or energetic life, which sprang up in mediæval Italy. These races have chiselled their mark on many a rude but energetic bas-relief and shrine; and though we must admit with a sigh that the sculpture is of a sadly primitive order, and has little place in art, yet there is an historical value and an archaeological curiosity about it which can hardly be overvalued. Mr. Perkins gives a plate from a contemporary relief of two Saracens fighting, at Ravello, which is as vivid and more authentic than a page from Sir Walter Scott. Another etching displays a dragon door-handle, of unmistakable Scandinavian ferocity. A third engraving shows the bronze statue of Heraclius, cast in Constantinople in the seventh century. We have a sketch of that singular castle which Robert Guiscard built upon more ancient foundations, and which was then enlarged by the great Emperor Frederic II.—him who anticipated in the thirteenth century the "critical spirit" of the nineteenth—into a singular pile, half fortress and half palace:—

Tenanted only by robbers or wandering shepherds, it has greatly suffered of late years, and its single portal with a double Gothic arch and cancellated pilasters, above whose Corinthian capitals stand the Suiabian lions, has been much marred and defaced. Through it the traveller enters into the castle, which from its great size, its peculiar distribution, the mysterious solitudes of its vaulted chambers and winding stairways, and its association with one of the most romantic and interesting persons in history, is eminently calculated to affect the imagination.

A few details follow which make one earnestly desire that, before the process of destruction goes further, some Ferguson (if there be more than one such living) would plan and draw, and preserve for those coming years when such a monument will appear like the relic of a primeval world, a building which must be one of the most singular and important relics of antiquity now existing.

Southern Italy contributes few names to the history of sculpture after these early ages. One beautiful work, the altar tomb of a Countess Montorio, is ascribed to Andrea dall' Aquila, an artist who was manifestly influenced by the Tuscan sculptors of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The monument shows a tenderly designed figure of the countess, with her little daughter placed as if for protection in a niche below. The inscription has a touch of true poetry in its simple setting forth of fact:—

Beatrice Camponessa, infanti dulci, quæ vixit mæx. xiv.
Maria Pereyra . . . mater . . . Montorii Comitissæ conjux,
Filie sue unice benemerenti, et sibi, vivens posuit.

Filia unica vixens posuit! What a tale of long past and forgotten sorrow is in the simple words! The genius of a Flaxman would have been required to carry art to a point which would equal them in pathos.

In Naples and its neighbourhood Mr. Perkins describes many works of great curiosity; but the district has made little contribution to art, whether in painting or in sculpture. Merliano, the greatest name of the school, is an ornamentalist of the "pictorial" type, whose crowded compositions were the delight of the connoisseurs of his day, just as there are people who admire the bad pictures in stone which deform more than one costly reredos of recent erection.

The native barrenness of Rome in art has been often noticed. Probably no city, unless we except Athens, has drawn so many great artists together to work within it; but the creative impulse is almost absent from the race. Hence the atmosphere of the Eternal City, from the middle ages, if not from the Imperial period, to our own day, has been injurious to the genius which it has imported. Many an artist from more gifted races than that of Central Italy—English, French, or Tuscan—has turned mannerist at Rome, or sacrificed his talent to please the little winter coterie of ignorant but wealthy patrons.

Something ails it now; the place is cursed!

The imbecile productions of Mr. Adams and Mr. Mozier, the showy emptiness of Mr. Story and Miss Hosmer, with half a dozen more flourishing manufactories for spoiling marble, are the natural

* *Italian Sculptors: a History of Sculpture in Northern, Southern, and Eastern Italy.* By C. C. Perkins. With Etchings and Engravings on Wood. London: Longmans & Co.

† *Saturday Review*, February 4, 1865.

results of that "Rubbish of Rome" under which title contemporary life in the city has been appropriately described.

Mr. Perkins has a few better things to tell of in the interesting chapters which he devotes to Lombardy and Venetia. These districts, like those of the south, contain many specimens of immense historical value, which, however, lie more in the beaten track of travellers than Apulia, and are hence less totally unknown. Milan, possibly at different times the richest city in Italy in sculpture, has gone through two epochs of destruction; that when it was razed by Barbarossa, and that later one, noticed by Mr. Perkins, when the Archbishop Borromeo (like the Bishop of London the other day), reduced what he considered the undue number of its churches. Yet San Ambrogio retains enough to form a museum of early art, whilst the Certosa near Pavia is equally rich in the delicate ornamentation of the early Renaissance. Then follows a long series of names familiar to every intelligent tourist or lover of art—Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Mantua, Bologna, Modena, Ferrara, Venice. Everywhere, indeed, we find that absence of a true conception about sculpture which we have noticed as characteristic of Italy; everywhere it has pursued the same course, passing from the awkward but attractive *naïveté*, the ignorant earnestness of the "religious" art, so dear to Mr. Ruskin, to the brilliant but baseless decorative exploits of the Renaissance—a style that, in its turn, gives way to that passion for the fantastic and the prosaic into which Italy fell three hundred years ago, and above which she has not hitherto raised herself. So powerful were these adverse influences, that even in the case of men of such extraordinary native vigour and gifts for sculpture as Ricci of Padua, or Verrocchio and Leopardi—the joint authors (for such appears to be the case) of the equestrian Colleone at Venice, or the modeller of that noble bust of the great Andrea which adorns his monument within his native Mantua—their efforts issue only in single pieces of merit, and are incapable of carrying the artists to a series of successful works, much less of influencing their contemporaries. In short, we may say in general that what is good in Italian sculpture is due to the bright impulses of individuals who for a moment broke through the atmosphere of their age; not, as in a healthy state of art, to the prevalence of a good style, carried to its height by individual impulse. This remark applies most completely to the schools dealt with in Mr. Perkins's present volume, although we can hardly credit even the far more excellent sculptors of Tuscany with the knowledge of the true direction of their art, or at least with any consistency in pursuing it. And yet, after all, so much educated labour and natural gift and fineness of invention was bestowed upon Italian sculpture, that it will remain always a subject of intense interest to the lover of art, even whilst he is compelled to read in it the salutary lesson of the inevitable fate which hangs over that art which takes a false direction, and leaves the "main current" for subsidiary channels.

To such students we warmly commend the handsome work which Mr. Perkins's industry and liberality—with little hope of an adequate return—has now completed. It is, truly, one of those few books which should find a place in every library where art is represented.

AMERICAN LITERATURE.

WE have on our list this month two works of a class in which America peculiarly excels; which are executed, for the most part, with greater care and elaboration than any other American books, and the production of which is a characteristic speciality of the national literature. We have repeatedly had to notice the liberality and energy displayed by the State and Federal Governments in promoting scientific and practical investigations into the geographical, climatic, geological, and other natural features of the great Western continent, and particularly of the United States themselves. Expeditions sent out at public expense have explored the rivers of South America, and traversed in every direction the great desert that stretches along the range of the Rocky Mountains, and the course of the Colorado, from Southern California to Utah. One of the most carefully elaborated and most perfect works of travel we have had to notice, illustrated with drawings of extreme interest and admirable execution, appeared in the form of a Report from the Federal officers sent to penetrate that desert, as far as they could, by the waters of the strange river that flows, in many parts, a thousand feet below the level of the surrounding country. At all the military stations in the Far West regular observations of the temperature, atmospheric pressure, rainfall, &c., are taken and transmitted to Washington. No pains are spared to acquire and record all information that may indicate the peculiar character, climate, advantages, and resources of different parts of the country, and assist to direct the enterprise of speculators, the stream of immigration, and the labours of agriculture. Private ability and industry are so actively and constantly employed in the same manner as to prove that the demand for this species of knowledge fully keeps pace with the zeal of the authorities in providing it. Of both public and private works of this class we have before us excellent examples. The third volume of the Report of the scientific gentlemen appointed to make a complete geological survey of the State of Illinois* contains a

minute description of the coalfields of that State, and an account of the geology of several counties, together with a treatise on the fossil shells found in various strata, illustrated by a series of elaborately executed plates. The work has been done, and the Report is now published, at the expense of the State, which could hardly lay out its money more obviously and directly to the advantage of its taxpayers.

A far less technical, and to the general reader an infinitely more interesting, work is that entitled the *Natural Wealth of California*†, in which the geography of the State is carefully explained, with a brief sketch of its history. A minutely detailed description of the different counties, with the peculiar agricultural and mineral characteristics of each, follows; while the latter half of the volume gives an account of the climatic and geological peculiarities of the several regions into which the State is distributed by its physical features, with especial reference to their bearing on agriculture and other industrial pursuits. It is evident from the writer's statements that gold-mining will long continue to constitute one of the most important resources of California, but that it will require science, capital, and organization to render it profitable, and has already ceased to divert the attention of the community at large from more regular pursuits. The advantages which California offers to the farmer are great, and only partially counterbalanced by that want of rain which is the chief trouble of the country. Everything grows twice as fast and twice as big in California as elsewhere. Fruit-trees bear incredible quantities of large and delicious cherries, plums, peaches, oranges, apricots, apples, and pears; strawberries may be gathered all the year round; wheat, in ordinary years, yields an abundant crop, and from the scattered seed of one harvest springs up next year, without care or labour, a "volunteer" crop averaging twenty bushels to the acre. Hops grow luxuriantly, unspoiled by the misfortunes which vex the soul of the Kentish farmer. Dairies are numerous and very profitable, despite the losses by drought in unfavourable years, which a degree of care far less than that required in other countries by the hardiest cattle would entirely avert. But the peculiar and most promising industries of California are those of Southern Europe, the latitude of San Francisco being nearly that of Gibraltar. The silkworm thrives on mulberry-leaves gathered in great profusion and at little cost. The vineyards now occupy some thousands of acres, and produce an annual and increasing vintage of 4,000,000 gallons, the yield per acre being greater than in France. The land is a healthy one, and the climate is never, save in certain exceptional districts, either extremely hot or severely cold; the mean temperature of the several months on the sea-coast ranging from 50° in winter to 65° in summer, and the heat of noon being seldom more than 12° or 15° above that of midnight. In the interior, where the days of summer are hotter, the nights are always cool, and blankets can seldom be dispensed with. The weather is generally very serene, storms are rare, and lightning still rarer, and the "rainy season" of San Francisco is marked by a rainfall not exceeding the average of the year in Westmoreland. Altogether, the book presents an exceedingly attractive, though apparently very fair, picture of Californian life, and can hardly fail to allure the hesitating emigrant.

Mr. Horace Greeley's *Recollections of a Busy Life*‡, fragmentary and desultory as they are, will interest all readers who care anything or know anything about the political history of America during the last forty years. Of that history the life of Mr. Greeley has been an important part. He was one of the earliest supporters in the press of the Whig party formed during the administration of President Jackson, and including nearly all the opponents of that remarkable and able, if not very judicious or profound statesman. The Whigs held much the same relation to the Federalists that the Republicans did to the Whigs. The Federal party received a death-blow in the defeat of the elder Adams at the close of his first term. That defeat answered, more nearly than those who judge by the practice of late years might suppose, to the ejection of an English Ministry by an adverse verdict on an appeal to the country. The precedent set in the case of Washington, and followed in all subsequent instances down to the time of the younger Adams, had established, in accordance with the purpose of the framers of the Constitution, the idea that, in the absence of reason to the contrary, each President should serve two terms of office; and the refusal to re-elect John Adams was equivalent to a vote of censure on his policy and administration. The Federalists never recovered this disaster, though they continued to act as an organized Opposition under Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. Their final dissolution may be considered as having taken place at the second election of the last-named President; and the Democratic party was practically unopposed, until the contest between Clay and Jackson rallied round the former the scattered enemies of the dominant faction. The numbers and power of the Whigs were greatly increased by the personal defects of the President, and by his high-handed and imperious policy. But their strongest bond of union was a sectional one. In this

* *The Natural Wealth of California; comprising Early History, Geography, Topography and Scenery, Climate, Agriculture, &c. &c.* By Titus Fay Crouse. San Francisco and New York: Bancroft & Co. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1868.

† *Recollections of a Busy Life. Including Reminiscences of American Politics and Politicians, from the Opening of the Missouri Contest to the Downfall of Slavery; to which are added Miscellanies; also a Discussion with Robert Dale Owen on the Law of Divorce.* By Horace Greeley. New York: Ford & Co. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1868.

* *Geological Survey of Illinois.* A. H. Worthen, Director. Vol. III. Geology and Palaeontology. Illustrated by the Western Engraving Co. Chicago. Published by authority of the Legislature of Illinois. London: Trübner & Co. 1868.

respect they differed from the Federalists even more than the Republicans differed from them. The Federalists, though stronger in the North than in the South, hoisted no sectional colours and avowed no sectional purposes. The Whigs, though not exclusively a Northern party, did include, among their grounds of opposition to the Democrats, a decided preference for Northern views and Northern interests, hostility to the extension of slavery, and very strong Protectionist leanings. Mr. Greeley belonged to the extreme Northern wing of the Whigs; a Republican before Republicanism became a party platform. His Protectionism was more thoroughgoing and more extravagant than that of the majority of his party—far more so than that of his leader, Henry Clay, who was the author of the Compromise Tariff by which the violent resistance of South Carolina was appeased, and the Nullification quarrel arranged. He was also, from the first, a political Abolitionist. He did not share the extreme ideas of those impracticable but honest fanatics who, like Garrison, looked upon slavery as a crime and an abomination with which no terms were to be kept, and which was to be assailed without regard to constitutional obligations or public law. He distinctly admits, in the present volume, that the North had, before the war, no more right to meddle with slavery in the Slave States than with "drunkenness in Canada, or polygamy in Turkey." His hostility to it was limited to a resolute determination to exclude it from the Territories, and to resist the execution of all laws for the rendition of fugitive slaves. He does not attempt to explain how he reconciled an obstinate disobedience to the Constitution on this point with the oath which he must repeatedly have taken to uphold it; nor does he appear to have the least notion that the South might fairly complain of her exclusion from the common possessions of the Union, and insist upon the right of her laws and institutions to perfectly equal treatment at the hands of the Federal Government. His views on this point led him further than most of his associates were prepared to go, and kept him constantly in advance, first of the Whigs, and then of the Republican party, formed about 1856, by the union of all the remnants of the Whig, American, and other anti-Democratic and anti-Southern elements. Down to the outbreak of the war he was regarded, even by his allies, as an extreme and dangerous man. But he was averse to war. He insisted that the South was not really Secessionist—an opinion which the unanimous and desperate adherence of the entire people to the Confederate Government has not yet taught him to abandon—and he refused to recognise the announcement of the national will through any other form than that of a direct popular vote; but he argued that, if such a vote were passed by any of the States, the Union should let them go in peace. When Fort Sumter fell, he, like other Northern men of like views, changed his tone, and, refusing to recognise the plain fact that the Southern Government was forced into that attack, threw the responsibility of war upon the Confederates. But, when the war was over, he had the courage to acknowledge that it had been war, and not rebellion only, and to give practical effect to his doctrine by offering himself as bail for Mr. Davis. A paper in which he justifies this act is inserted in the present work. His arguments are, first, that a Power which has levied a regular army and fought a pitched battle is thereby excepted from the category of rebels, and assumes the rights of a belligerent or quasi-national Government, so far at least as to exempt its adherents from the personal penalties of treason; secondly, that a Government which has treated with its antagonists in a civil war, and exchanged prisoners under regular cartel, is thereafter precluded from dealing with them as mere rebels when victory declares on its side; that defeat does not convert those who were yesterday enemies, enjoying all the privileges of war, into criminals and traitors; and finally, that the long detention of Mr. Davis was unconstitutional and illegal in the first place, and cruel and discreditable in the second; that his trial was postponed simply because there was no chance whatever of a conviction, unless a jury were packed for the purpose; and that, under such circumstances, he was absolutely entitled to his release. Few Englishmen will think that such a vindication was required for what was here generally considered as the noblest act of Mr. Greeley's life. Apart from mere politics, the sketches, slight as they are, of the different public men with whom the autobiographer was brought into contact—and particularly of Clay, Webster, Calhoun, and Lincoln—will be generally interesting to English readers. Not less acceptable will be the simple narrative of Mr. Greeley's own early life; the hardships of his boyhood as the son of a labourer in Connecticut; his struggles, labours, and endurance as a printer's apprentice; the long series of disappointments, disasters, and losses which attended his repeated attempts to set up in business on his own account, and the various unsuccessful or temporary newspapers with which he was connected before the establishment of the *Tribune*. There is very little of the ordinary fanatic about Mr. Greeley. He has sufficient obstinacy, exaggeration, and self-confidence for the character; he seems, too, to have just that imperfect degree of knowledge, and that one-sidedness of judgment, which are necessary to fanaticism; and he clings to various prejudices, personal, social, and political, with something like fanatical vehemence; but the genial temper, the appreciation of humour, and the incapacity of wilful injustice or persevering hatred, which are perceptible in every page of his writings, have saved him from the fate to which his eccentric notions, and his obstinate adherence to them, would otherwise have conducted him. The impression left upon the reader is that of a man who

would learn to like even his political enemies, if he knew them, and whom even his political enemies could hardly help liking.

An *Introduction to English Literature*, by Mr. Day*, contains a great deal that might safely be recommended to the use of young students in this country, as well as in America, who wish to acquire some notion of the history and development of their mother tongue and of its literature, without having leisure to give to so difficult a subject the complete and protracted investigation it deserves, or opportunity to make themselves acquainted with the authorities at first hand. The specimens of English literature in prose and verse which occupy the greater portion of the volume extend over nearly the whole range of what is commonly called English, as distinguished from what is popularly known as Anglo-Saxon literature—from "Piers Ploughman" and Chaucer down to Tennyson and Longfellow. There is, however, a regrettable gap of 150 years, from Chaucer to Spenser, which creates a hiatus in the work even in the aspect in which its author meant it to be regarded, i.e. not as an anthology, but as an elementary history of the language, illustrated by specimens from the principal authors of different periods. The latter portion of the work consists of chapters on the origin and distinctive character of languages in general, and of the English tongue in particular; on its derivations, its grammar, accentuation, prosody, and so forth; in which the writer has had free recourse to Professor Müller and other recent authorities. To the more earnest student this book may serve as an introduction to their works, while the ordinary reader may find it in some sort a substitute for a more elaborate course of study than he has leisure or inclination to pursue.

The second volume of Dr. Beardsley's *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*† takes up the story of the Church's fortunes at the moment of the final separation from the Mother-country, and brings it down to the present times. It is not without instructive lessons for many of those who, without much knowledge or care about the facts, refer to colonial and American Churches as bright examples of the prospects of a Church set free from State trammels; and the case of Ammi Rogers, related at considerable length, shows how difficult it is for such a Church to enforce its jurisdiction over refractory clergymen, and how much more troublesome and less effective than is commonly supposed is an appeal by such a Church to the intervention of the Common Law Courts.

An elegant and pretentious volume, with copious illustrations, gives a description and history of the Central Park of New York City‡; a place of retirement and recreation, in the midst of the commercial metropolis of America, laid out with much greater elaboration and at greater expense than our own parks, and differing from them much as the work of a landscape-gardener differs from an ordinary rural park in England.

Plain Thoughts on the Art of Living§ is more aptly described by its title than most works of the kind are. The "art of living"—the arts of spending life pleasantly and respectably, and holding a good position in society, of friendly intercourse with neighbours, and of domestic comfort and happiness—really form the principal subject of the "thoughts" set forth in a series of chapters on various themes, from "dress" and "manners" to "marriage"; and if the thoughts are generally obvious and commonplace, they are tolerably just and wholesome.

Of fiction and poetry we have, as usual, a considerable quantity. *Fair Play*|| is the title of a story by Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth, of which the subject is Woman's Rights, and the title of which is vindicated by the introduction of a Southern cruiser, obviously intended for the *Alabama*, whose captain avows it to be his practice to sink captured ships "with their crews." Probably only an American and a female writer could have imagined that even the license of fiction excused so foul and unfounded a slander as this. *Cape Cod and All along Shore*¶, by Charles Nordhoff, is a volume of reprints, most of which are tolerably interesting, and written in a lively style and genial spirit. *The King's Lily and Rosebud*** is a graceful but rather inane fairy tale; and the *Flower and the Star*†† is a little collection

* *An Introduction to the Study of English Literature*; comprising Representative Masterpieces in Poetry and Prose, marking the successive Stages of its growth, and a methodical Exposition of the Governing Principles and General Forms, both of the Language and Literature, &c. &c. By Henry N. Day, Author of "Logic," "Art of Composition," &c. &c. New York: Scribner & Co. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1869.

† *The History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut, from the Death of Bishop Seabury to the Present Time*. By E. Edwards Beardsley, D.D. Vol. II. New York: Hurd & Houghton. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston.

‡ *A Description of the New York Central Park*. New York: Huntington & Co. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1869.

§ *Plain Thoughts on the Art of Living: designed for Young Men and Women*. By Washington Gladden. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. London: Trübner & Co. 1868.

|| *Fair Play; or, the Test of the Lone Isle*. By Mrs. Emma D. E. N. Southworth, Author of the "Widow's Son," &c. &c. Philadelphia: Peterson & Brothers. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston.

¶ *Cape Cod and All along Shore*. Stories. By Charles Nordhoff. New York: Harper & Brothers. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1869.

** *The Entertaining Story of King Brondi, his Lily and his Rosebud*. By Anna M. Diaz. With illustrations by W. L. Shepard. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. London: Trübner & Co. 1869.

†† *The Flower and the Star, and other Stories for Children*. Written and illustrated by W. J. Linton. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1869.

children's stories, not, certainly, objectionable on the score of excess of life or excitement. *No Love Lost** is a story told in letters mostly dated from Venice, and written in that Homeric hexameter which some critics declare to be readable and even poetical when skilfully employed, but which is universally admitted, in clumsy hands, to be utterly intolerable.

A *Schiller Gallery*†, containing descriptions and portraits of all the principal characters in the *Robbers* and the other works of the great poet, celebrates the centenary anniversary of his birth, and makes a graceful ornament for a drawing-room table. The *Album of Languages*‡—a work treating more or less superficially of the characters and relations of some hundred different tongues, and illustrated by translations of the Lord's Prayer in each—is fitted, by its size, its beauty, its binding, and its gilding, for a similar use, and utterly unfit for the shelves of a library or the desk of a student. Why such a work should have been produced in such a form it passes our wit to conjecture.

* *No Love Lost*. A Romance of Travel. By W. D. Howells, Author of "Venetian Life," &c. New York: Putnam & Son. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1869.

† *The Schiller Gallery*. Containing Characters from Schiller's Works, drawn by Frederick Pecht and Arthur von Ramberg. Fifty Illustrations on Steel. With Descriptive Text by Fred. Pecht. New York: Appleton & Co. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1869.

‡ *The Album of Languages*. Illustrated by the Lord's Prayer in One Hundred Languages, with Historical Descriptions of the Principal Languages, Interlinear Translation and Pronunciation, &c. &c. By G. Naphegyi, A.M., M.D., Member of the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Philadelphia, &c. &c. Philadelphia: Lippincott. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1869.

NOTICE

Mr. G. W. MARTIN, director of the National Choral Society, complains, in a very long letter, of certain remarks contained in our article about "The Musical Pitch." We attributed his lowering the pitch half a tone to a suggestion put forth by Herr MANNS in a letter addressed to two of the morning papers on the 11th of January. Mr. MARTIN declares, on the contrary, that *as far back as December 24th, he wrote to his "wind-instrumentalists," and that "their acceptance of their engagements was made conditional upon their playing a full semitone lower than the ordinary pitch."*

We beg leave to state that we decline to return rejected communications; and to this rule we can make no exception.

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The publication of the SATURDAY REVIEW takes place on Saturday mornings, in time for the early trains, and copies may be obtained in the Country, through any News-agent, on the day of publication.

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Cloth Cases for Binding all the Volumes may be had at the Office, price 2s. each. Also, Reading Cases, price 2s. 6d. each.

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ADVERTISEMENTS.

WILL CLOSE ON SATURDAY, MARCH 20.

THE SOCIETY OF PAINTERS IN WATER COLOURS.—
The WINTER EXHIBITION OF SKETCHES AND STUDIES IS NOW OPEN,
5 Pall Mall East. Ten till Five. Admission, 1s.

WILLIAM CALLOW, Secretary.

MONDAY POPULAR CONCERTS, St. James's Hall.—On Monday Evening next, March 1, the Programme will include Beethoven's Quartet in D major, Op. 18, No. 3; Mendelssohn's Sonata in D major, for Piano and Violoncello; Beethoven's Sonata in C major, Op. 33, for Piano alone; and Bach's Chaconne, for Violin alone. Executants: Madame Schumann, M.M. Joachim, L. Ries, Henry Blagrove, and Patti. Vocalist: Madame Sainton-Dolby. Conductor, Mr. Benedict. Sofa Stalls, 1s.; Balcony, 2s.; Admission, 1s.—Programmes and Tickets at Chappell & Co.'s, 50 New Bond Street; Keith, Frowse, & Co.'s, 48 Chesham Street; and at Austin's, 28 Piccadilly.

SATURDAY POPULAR CONCERTS, St. James's Hall.—The MORNING PERFORMANCES take place on SATURDAYS, March 6, 13, 20; commencing each day at Three o'clock. M.M. Joachim, L. Ries, Henry Blagrove, and Patti appear every Saturday. Pianists: Madame Schumann, Madame Arabella Goddard, and Mr. Charles Hallé. Sofa Stalls, 2s.; Balcony, 2s.; Admission, 1s.—Programmes and Tickets at Chappell & Co.'s, 50 New Bond Street.

MUSICAL UNION, 1869.—MEMBERS' TICKETS AND RECORDS will be issued next Week. Subscriptions to be paid before Easter to LAMMONS COOK & CO., Bond Street; or by Cheque to J. ELLA, 9 Victoria Square, S.W.

ROBERT BUCHANAN'S READINGS.—Hanover Square Rooms.

"Welcome to a Port.—Ha! sir! We could well like to hear him.....Mr. Punch wishes him every success."—Punch.

Mr. BUCHANAN'S SECOND READING from his OWN POEMS, Wednesday Evening, March 3, at Eight. Stalls, 2s.; Reserved Seats, 3s.; Admission, 1s.—Tickets at Chappell's, and at the Rooms.

INSTITUTION of NAVAL ARCHITECTS.—NOTICE. The TENTH ANNUAL MEETING of the INSTITUTION of NAVAL ARCHITECTS will take place at Twelve o'clock, on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, the 18th, 19th, and 20th of March, at the Hall of the Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi, London. There will also be EVENING MEETINGS on Thursday and Friday, at Seven o'clock. Papers on the Principles of Naval Construction, on Practical Shipbuilding, on Steam Navigation, on the Equipment and Management of Ships for Merchandise and for War, will be read at this Meeting.

C. W. MERRIFIELD, Honorary Secretary.

9 Adelphi Terrace, London, W.C., January 1869.

VICTORIA INSTITUTE, 9 Conduit Street, Regent Street.—ORDINARY MEETINGS, 8 p.m. Monday, March 1, PAPER by Rev. Dr. JENCKS, "Analysis of Human Responsibility." Part II. Historical Continuation. Monday, March 15, PAPER by the Rev. M. DAVISON, "The Noachian Deluge."

ART UNION of LONDON.—Subscription, One Guinea.—Prizeholders select from the Public Exhibitions. Every Subscriber has a chance of a valuable Prize, and in addition receives an impression of a Chromolithograph, CHOOSING THE WEDDING GOWN, by Vincent Brooks, from the Original Picture by William Mulready, R.A. LEWIS POCOCK, EDMUND E. ANTHOBS, Hon. Secs.

441 West Strand, Jan. 1869.

SOCIETY for the ENCOURAGEMENT of ARTS, MANUFACTURES, and COMMERCE.—On Monday next, March 1, the ADJOURNED DISCUSSION on the Paper, by Mr. HENRY COLE, C.B., "On the Efficiency and Economy of a National Army in connection with the Industry and Education of the People," will be resumed.

The Chair will be taken at Eleven o'clock A.M. by A. J. MUNDELLA, Esq. M.P. By Order, P. LE NEVE FOSTER, Secretary. Society's House, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.

THE ROYAL INFIRMARY for CHILDREN and WOMEN, Waterloo Bridge Road. Instituted 1810.—The Sufferings of poor helpless Children from Disease and Poverty are such as to call forth the utmost sympathy and consideration of the Humane and Charitable.

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JOSEPH SOUL, Hon. Secretary.

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THE LONDON FEVER HOSPITAL has urgent NEED of FUNDS.

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Will Close on 1st March Next.

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